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THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEMS.

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UKRAINA AND THE PEACE-  
CONFERENCE.

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## **Ukraina and the Peace-Conference.**

By Professor Stanislaus Dnistrianskyj, LL.-D.

### **I. The Right of Self-Determination of Peoples.**

Important and difficult problems are put before the Peace Conference of the Allied Powers. There is urgent need of establishing a new system of the world on the ruins of old ones, broken down by the war. The first task must be to bring a general and permanent peace to the peoples stirred up by the Great War, and it is obvious that this object cannot be secured by merely proclaiming the ideas of "right and justice" and the principle of self-determination of peoples, but those ideas and that principle will have to be realized, to lead the peoples of the universe into the peaceful paths of order and of pacific and orderly international traffic. Even the idea of a genuine League of Nations can only be accomplished, if provision is made that all peoples, who as members of the League of Nations must on principle enjoy the same rights, shall obtain equal rights, and no people shall be ruled by another people or dependent on another people's mercy.

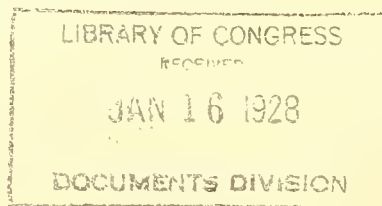
Without solving and actually carrying through the problems, which helped to bring about the Great War, permanent peace is an impossible thing.

From the defeat of Imperialism and Militarism all consequences must be drawn, and an order must be established, which shall raise the nations again on the basis of genuine democracy, liberty, and national independence. Though the catchword of "Self-determination of Peoples" was coined only during the war, the problem itself was not new, on the contrary, it had been alive already before the war and was the fundamental idea, which brought about the Great War.

A short glance at the history of the past and the present century will suffice to convince oneself of the fact, that the striving of the nations for political and cultural emancipation was one of the principal causes of the Great War.

There is in modern times no closer tie than of the community of men, which is called a people or nation. This is the result of a development originating in the French Revolution. The impulse came from Rousseau's theory of the sovereignty of the people.

The French Revolution asserted the Rights of Man and put all men of all ranks and classes on an equality with each other. This feeling of equality and harmony brought the elements of the nations nearer to each other and the consciousness of national kinship arose among them. This was followed by endeavours at the political union of the national elements and with this is connected the tendency towards the formation of national states.





The coherent national elements that, by the principle of state-formation then in force, had been dismembered into several states, united at last and were joined into a national union. Thus in the course of the nineteenth century the German Empire and the Kingdom of Italy took birth.

Not all nations, however, were allowed, by the formation of national states to attain the ideal of national union. Nor was this ideal altogether attained in all national states, as for instance large portions of the German nation were left outside the German Empire in the frame of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, while on the other hand the Germans, by the annexation of French and Polish territories, incorporated large heterogeneous elements in their political organism.

It is universally known, to what extent the annexation by the Germans of heterogeneous national territories called forth the Great War.

In other states, where several peoples lived together, who did not form independent communities, the nations could not immediately rend asunder the political organisms. Here the idea of nationalism lead to fights for national freedom, first of all on the Balkan Peninsula.

It is to the idea of nationalism that Greece, Servia and Bulgaria owe their birth.

At the Berlin Congress, however, the national Balkan problems were not thoroughly solved. On the one hand the new states did not obtain all their national territories, for rather considerable national territories, that ought to belong to them, were left with Turkey; on the other hand territories were

assigned to the new states, which by nationality were connected with other political organisms.

Furthermore taking into consideration, that it was not full independence, that was granted to the Balkan States at the Berlin Congress, but that they got into a great dependency on the neighbouring states, it is obvious how the Balkan Peninsula came to be the hotbed of incessant combat among the nations, and that the neighbouring great powers made the Balkan Peninsula the theatre of their wrestling for hegemony. Nor could the Bucharest Treaty bring an adjustment of the national conflict, since it disregarded the ethnographical boundaries of the national territories. Thus a gulf, not to be bridged over, opened between the Bulgarians and the Servians, and that is why in the Great War we see Bulgaria on the side of the Central Powers.

That the Balkan Question gave the first impulse to the Great War is a fact universally known.

Surveying the development of the national problem in the other states of Europe, we come in short to the following results:

In Russia, before the war, Tsarism kept down the numerous nationalities by strong measures, in other states, where several nations lived side by side, efforts were made some way or other to do justice to the national problem.

It could be made no secret that the idea of nationalism, which in the course of the nineteenth century had led to the formation of new states, would exercise great influence on all other nations. In the meanwhile the nations tried to obtain such political

power in the states, as was to warrant political independence to their own nationality within the frame of strange political organisms. To comply with their endeavours modern states (setting Tsaristic Russia aside) have taken two ways.

In Belgium as well as in Switzerland the democratic endeavours of the nations were met by the concession of extensive political liberties and the recognition of the equality of all nations, so there arose no need to split up the sovereignty of the state according to national territories. Nevertheless Belgium, owing to the imperfect equalization of the Flemish language with the French language of the Walloons, could not be spared vehement political combats, carried on for many years between both nations of the country, which created a deep antagonism between them.

Another way was chosen by Austria. Here the principle of equality of rights was expressly established by the constitution, but was turned into the reverse on being carried out. The empire was not divided according to national territories, but according to provinces, and in the provinces the nations, who were in the minority, were delivered up to other nations, who often had only a chance majority. So an antagonism arose on the one hand between the imperial government and the province governments, the majority nations trying to shake off the remaining part of their dependency on the supreme power of the state, and on the other hand an antagonism between the nations, the minorities endeavouring to free themselves from the rule of the majority nations.

In consequence whereof a conflict was kindled among the nations of Austria, which affected the whole state machinery.

When the Great War broke out, indeed all nations of Austria were forced to fight on the side of the Central Powers, but it was obvious a priori, that each nation was aiming at her own deliverance and that the nations had gone to the war for their own right of self-determination.

So there can be no doubt, that the main fact that called forth the Great War was, that the problem of nationality had to choose this way of being brought to a definite solution. The re-annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, the independence of the "small nations", the restitution of Poland, — these are the forms, in which the problem of the deliverance of nations made its first appearance in the war; soon other national questions followed, such as the Czecho-Slovak, the Yugoslav, the Ukrainian questions etc., and when in consequence of the events of war Russian Tsarism with its "jail of nations" collapsed, the Russian revolution proclaimed the Rights of the People and first of all the right of self-determination of peoples. It was not by mere chance that President Wilson made Self-determination of Peoples a point of his programme and that it was agreed to by all Allied Powers.

So the question is: On what principles is the Peace Conference to act, to secure self-determination to the peoples?

Self-determination of the Peoples is no arbitrary conception, but has sprung from the long combats

of modern nations, and was given sanction to by the Great War through the defeat of Imperialism.

Self-determination belongs to the nature of modern peoples. To decide upon the principles of this right of self-determination one must first make up one's mind, as to what has to be the condition of a community to become the subject of self-determination, in short, what is the nature of a people or a nation in a modern sense of the word, which preliminary conditions are required to make it partake of national self-determination?

On the definition and the political importance of the idea of the People a large literature has arisen, which shows distinct traits of the political currents of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the same measure as those currents changed, the relation between state and people was subject to ever varying criticism, so pre-war political science gives us no conclusive judgement of their relation, but represents the picture of a chaos, making arbitrary distinctions without regarding the natural development of things. Although it was evident, for instance, that there are different peoples in one state, some scholars did not shrink from representing the whole population of a country as one people in a technical sense of the term; or to obscure the true, natural relation between people and state, a distinction was made between people and nation, nation being represented as something higher, having no immediate connection with the formation of states, while people, being something lower, purely ethical, was to subject itself to the state at all risks.

To justify further inequalities a distinction was created between "historical" and merely "ethnic" peoples, as though not all peoples were historical and ethnic at the same time.

All those scholastic distinctions were thoroughly thrown over by the war. Into the fight the peoples entered as such without caring much, whether by others they were considered to be peoples or nations, historical or ethnic peoples (e. g. the Roumanians and the Yugoslavs in Hungary). On the contrary, the protection of the so-called "small nations" was one of the most important problems of the War of the World.

Nowadays in politics nation and people, whether big or small, are identical terms, since they have shaken off all the attributes arbitrarily assigned to them.

A people or nation is a larger community of men, based on common descent, but beyond that a cultural union, created by manners and customs, by common historical traditions, and as far as possible by common language as well as by historical connexion with a certain territory.

On further examination of the nature of modern peoples the following points must be taken into consideration: Each people is the result of a historical process in which two main factors, nature and culture, are perceptible. First the individuals connected by descent join into closer unions, which are called tribes, and the tribes afterwards unite into a large ethnic unit, that forms a people, the tribes developing vigorously by mutual interbreeding and by perpetual absorption of new elements of culture. This

process is in general the product of an assimilation of the two main factors: nature (descent) and culture. The importance of descent in this process is proved by the results of scientific research, different anthropological characteristics often being found in different peoples. But since peculiar cultural features, too, are part of the nature of a people, anthropological differences must not be acquiesced in. Each people has a culture of its own and a history of its own, distinguishing it from other peoples.

But there is a third factor to be considered: To become a real unit, notwithstanding the right of the individual to move about and the influence of different civilizations, a people must have a firmly established basis, fit to secure them a firm and stable position in life. This substantial basis is the territory. A community of men can only become a people, if they have an abode of their own, their own territory. Single individuals or families indeed can live outside the territory of their own people, but this is only an exception that does not affect the rule. Besides, such individuals and families remain in an ideal connexion with their national territory, and these ties can only be undone by their assimilation to another people.

But how far does the national territory extend? Without an exact answer to this question the problem of self-determination of peoples cannot be solved.

First of all it is quite certain that a fundamental distinction must be made between the territory of a state and the territory of a people. Seldom the territory of a state and the territory of a people will coincide. State territories have frontiers settled by

constitutional law, while the frontiers of the territories of peoples have not yet been recognized by constitutional law.

The essential difference between the territory of a people and the territory of a state is, that the latter is based on conquest, while the territory of a people is formed irrespective of conquest, not by arbitrary action, but by nature and civilization. Though in general it may be true, that the historical origin of all formations of peoples can be traced back to conquest, yet there can be no doubt, that it is not merely by conquest that they have become peoples in a modern sense of the word. Where the native population did not abandon their primary settlements and the conquerors were not able, by a definite process of assimilation, to transform the native population into a nationality common with the conquerors (which in earlier centuries was the case in Italy and in England, in modern times in America), conquest by foreign powers cannot forthwith involve annihilation of nationality to a people.

The territory, which a people is historically connected with by **perpetual settlement**, is the **national territory** of a people. The notion of a national territory in this sense of the word, however, is of an exclusive nature: Never can a territory be the national territory of two or more peoples at the same time, but each people has its own separate national territory, while in other national territories it plays the part of a conqueror or of a stranger. Therefore these peoples, who have subjected other peoples to their rule but have not been able to permanently settle in their place and to entirely assimilate them, must



not claim the territory of the conquered people as their own national territory.

Hereat the following observations are to be made: As it is a question of accomplished permanent settlement, national territory under modern circumstances, especially considering the great mobility of trade and industry, depends more on the character of the country population than of the town population. Larger towns therefore are, properly speaking, exterritorial as regards nationality by the incessant influx of foreigners and penniless persons. Owing to modern commercial intercourse even landed-proprietors in towns cannot be compared to landed-proprietors in the country, estates in towns very often changing hands and seldom involving the residency of the proprietors. For the nationality of a territory, therefore, the country population is more decisive than the population of the towns.

On the other hand there are also within a coherent national territory small foreign-national islands, where another nationality has its home.

But neither by the foreign-national population of single towns nor by interspersed foreign-national islands can the character of a coherent national territory be made doubtful. The sea does not cease to be the sea for the islands which are in it. The entireness of the national territory must be maintained, because only such territories can be considered as separate units, based on constitutional law.

Only national territories in this sense of the term can form political organisms of their own. Single towns or islands cannot be torn out of the organism and incorporated into other national states. The

territory principle can only be applied to national territories in the above sense.

So the national territory is identical with the **coherent ethnographical territory** of a people, including also single foreign-national places on islands. It is based on the **ethnographical principle**.

Concerning self-determination of the peoples we come to the conclusion, that peoples can lay claim to an existence as independent states only on their national territory, established on the ethnographical principle. To this is opposed the so-called historical principle, which aims at granting their former state-territories to peoples, who in former historical periods united also foreign nations in their political organism, including the territories of foreign nations. (As for instance the Poles lay claim to the re-creation of the old Polish Empire from the Baltic to the Black Sea, with annexation of Lithuanian, White Russian and Ukrainian territories.) This principle is utterly inconsistent with the idea of self-determination of peoples, since to some peoples it grants the privilege of ruling over others, while it excludes others from self-determination on their own national territories. (Justly, therefore, President Wilson's formula apportions to the Poles the undoubtedly Polish territories, i. e. the territories ethnographically belonging to Poland).

If, therefore, the Peace Conference wishes a just solution of the national problem, if they will solve it thoroughly conform with the proper meaning of the victory gained by the peoples of Europe and America, they must, on creating new national states and establishing their frontiers, have regard only for the national territories of the peoples and in doing so

make valid the pure ethnographical principle in the above sense. By the ethnographical principle all annexations by foreign peoples are undone, and thus it is decided for the future, that no people is justified in enriching itself at another people's expense, and that no people must strive for the territory of another people.

So much of the delimitation of the frontiers of new national states. But it must be observed that the peoples ought to be at liberty to unite with other peoples and to establish common political organisms with them (Such is the case at present in Belgium and Switzerland, and for the future the Slovenes, Croats and Servians wish to form a joint Yugoslav state). But it will not do to refuse those people, who wish to form independent states on their own national territories, the right of establishing them. Such procedure would be entirely inconsistent with the idea of self-determination.

But since, as was said before, there will actually never be any territory, that is inhabited by only one people, also those peoples, who live on the territory of a foreign nation, must be offered the opportunity of making the most of self-determination. In this case the minority nations must indeed, as aforesaid, subordinate themselves to the territorial sovereignty of the majority people on its national territory, but what is not essential to territorial sovereignty, must be left to the free determination of the minority peoples. The self-determination of national minorities on the territory of a foreign nation is limited only by the principle, that it is not allowed to be at variance with the self-determination of the majority people

domiciled on that territory, and that they have to submit to anything that may result from territorial union.

Speaking in the terms of political science, peoples on their own national territory are entitled to the establishment of national states of their own, with all the consequences resulting from a national state, by virtue of the **territory principle**; those peoples, however, who live on the national territory of a foreign people as individuals or larger groups in the places or interspersed 'islands', are entitled to self-determination by virtue of the **personality principle**, to an extent which results from the same.

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## II. The Ukrainian Nation.

Among the European peoples, striving for self-determination as the necessary consequence of the Great War, is the **Ukrainian people**, not, indeed, one of the "small nations", which the Allied Powers have taken under their protection since the beginning of the war, but a great people of 40 million, who in their time had sacrificed very much for European civilization as a safeguard against the Mongols, Turks, and Tartars, but had already lost their independence in previous centuries.

Till the present day the Ukrainian people remained under foreign rule, doomed by the Russians and Poles to annihilation of their nationality, and forgotten by the rest of the world.

But suppression could not annihilate the living soul of the great people, and its dismemberment among several hostile communities could not weaken the idea of national union. Though excluded from the European Concert, the Ukrainian people, in South Russia as well as in Poland, and after the partition of Poland on the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, never ceased to strive for the attainment of political autonomy and national independence. When

the Great War brought the triumph of the ideas of democracy, the Ukrainian people, too, applied for the participation in the European community of nations. Everybody knows that the Ukrainian troops were the first to proclaim the revolution in Petrograd. It is in a large measure due to the Ukrainians, that the Russian revolution proclaimed self-determination of the peoples, which the Allied Powers afterwards made their own device.

It is this great Slav people that those, who ruled it till the present day, want to deprive of the right of participating in self-determination.

But the Ukrainian nation actually exists, and has all the properties necessary for the existence of a political organism.

But as the political and national enemies of the Ukrainian people, especially the most influential political circles among the Russians and the Poles, are incessantly spreading false and designedly fictitious information about the world concerning the Ukrainian people, and do not shrink from the basest means of calumny, to enrich themselves on the expense of this people, abundantly blessed with natural resources, it is necessary *sine ira et studio* to state the true facts about Ukraina and the Ukrainian people, and to furnish proof, that the latter is indeed a nation in the modern sense of the word, and that according to the parole of "right and justice" it is to be granted self-determination on its whole national territory. At the same time it shall be demonstrated, how much it will be to the interest of the Allied Powers and mankind in general, if the Peace Conference will help Ukraina to political independence.

If in Europe and in America, before the War, so little was known about the Ukrainian people, it must be attributed to the fact, that both peoples, who ruled the Ukrainians, wanted to persuade the world, that there were no Ukrainians, only Poles and Russians, and that the Ukrainians formed only an individual tribe of the Polish or the Russian nation.

As for the Poles, in the first place, in all their political endeavours they always thought of the re-establishment of the old Polish empire from the Baltic to the Black Sea. So in all geographical records of Polish scholars we always find the notion of the former Polish empire in its largest dimensions, i. e. including the Lithuanian, White Russian, and Ukrainian territories. When in the nineteenth century with the rise of the idea of nationalism it became necessary to pay heed to national differences, and the Ukrainians asserted their national rights, the Polish politicians at once defined their position regarding them, declaring that the Ukrainians from the San to the Dniepr formed only a part of the Polish nation, that their language was only a country dialect of the Polish language, and only their creed and some of their manners and customs were different from the Polish. Especially to those Ukrainians, who lived on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, they disputed the right of appearing as an independent people, and of asserting their national identity with the Ukrainians living in Russia: moreover, referring to the name of "Ruthenians" customary in Austria, they alleged, that the "Ruthenians" were invented in 1848 by Count Stadion, and they used all possible means to persuade the world, that the

so-called "Ruthenians" were no separate people and had nothing in common with the Ukrainians living in Russia under the name of "Little Russians".

Against this assertion it must here already be observed, that the name of "Ruthenians" is derived from "Rusj", the original name of the ancient Ukrainian State of Kieff, and by its very etymology proves the connexion of the Austrian "Ruthenians" with the Ukrainians living in Russia (for further particulars see third chapter). On the other hand the description of the Polish politicians meets with the opposition of the Russian policy, which also lays claim to the Ukrainians, and under the official name of "Little Russians" describes them all as forming an integrant part of the Russian nation. To Russian imperialism all Ukrainians, hence also those, who had ever lived under Polish rule, appear as Russians and the Ukrainian language as a Russian dialect.

The Polish theory, which counted the part of the Ukrainian people, that formerly was under Polish rule, among the Polish nation, had the only effect, that many Ukrainian noblemen as well as Ukrainians belonging to the middle classes and Ukrainian merchants adopted Polish civilization and attached themselves to the Poles. But the masses of the Ukrainian nation remained faithful to their national traditions, took part in the national rebellions of former centuries against Polish hegemony, and maintained their national independence against all Polonizing tendencies. When after the partition of Poland East Galicia came to Austria, a political struggle arose between the Poles and the Ukrainians on the territory of the Austrian constitution, at the bottom of which



was the idea of emancipation of the Ukrainian people from Polish hegemony. Although those in power in Austria delivered up the Ukrainians to the discretion of the Poles, the Ukrainians used the small fragments of liberty to make East Galicia and North Bukowina a national Piedmont for the whole Ukrainian people, and, in spite of the Russian cordon, to cultivate the ideal community of interests with their brothers of Ukraina.

Much more dangerous for the Ukrainians was the Russian unitarian theory, which was first upheld by the Russian Tsar Peter the Great. Under his rule Ukraina lost her separate position and was incorporated in the Muscovite State of the Tsar. (For particulars see Ill. chapter). By him the name of "Rossia" and the "theory of the union of the Russian nation" were introduced. According to this theory the Russian nation consists of three tribes: Great Russians, Little Russians, and White Russians, whose idioms are supposed to differ no more from each other than dialects of one language. Since that time the Ukrainians are officially styled only as "Little Russians". (Not till half a century after the Union between the Muscovite state and Ukraina the idea struck Peter the Great, that the Ukrainians belonged to the same nation as the Muscovites.) Official Russia declares *urbi et orbi* that all these tribes are connected by a common, i. e. the Russian, literary language, by race, customs and tradition. The Ukrainian literature is not recognized, the Ukrainian history is curtailed and made an essential part of the Russian history. Hand in hand with this conception goes the ruthless suppression and persecution of every manifestation of the

independence of the Ukrainian people: the use of the Ukrainian language in literature is prohibited and not even in elementary schools the Ukrainian language is allowed. Yet the Ukrainian peasant remains faithful to his national language and is very strongly conscious of his national independence against every Russian. Marriages between Ukrainian peasants and Russians wellnigh never take place and the Ukrainian peasants seclude themselves almost entirely from the Russians.

For all these reasons, and owing to the circumstance that into the Ukrainian territory official Russia deliberately sent Russian officials, dislocated Russian troops, and provided for the admittance into the Ukrainian industrial centres (Kieff, Kharkoff, Odessa) of Russian workmen, the impression forced itself upon any foreign traveller before the War, that on all Ukrainian territories (i. e. in South Russia) there lived only one, the Russian, nation. The great political importance, which before the War Russia had in Europe, effected that the world of science and literature adopted the Russian unitarian theory in the History, Geography, and Statistics of Eastern Europe without further investigation, and the consequence was, that official European political science before the War did not know, that there is a large country in Europe, called Ukraina, and that in this country there lives a separate nation, called the Ukrainians, who have their own history and are leading their own national life.

But the great War forthwith brought the enlightenment. Among the first peoples to come forward after the proclamation by the Russian revolution of

the principle of self-determination of peoples was the Ukrainian people; to those, who *iurabant in verba magistri*, a sudden surprise, to others, however, who knew the prevarications of Tsaristic theories only the natural development of things.

But it must really not be concealed from any scholar, that the Ukrainian is an old people and that the roots of the development of the Ukrainian nation are to be found as early in the middle ages as those of the English, French and German nations. The only essential difference is that, while the course of development of the great European nations was continual and uninterrupted, the development of the Ukrainian nation was slackened by the immediate vicinity of Mongols, Tartars and Turks, and was greatly interrupted by foreign suppression. But the preliminary conditions necessary for the existence of a nation are no less to be found with the Ukrainian nation than with other European nations. But one has to look truth openly in the face and not to be misled by deliberate prevarications.

This refers above all to the two main-factors of each nation: nature and culture (see chapter I).

Taking into consideration that peoples come into existence by the interbreeding of different tribes as well as by the influence of different spheres of civilization, no constant anthropological properties, indeed, can be agreed upon to be characteristic of all those who belong to a certain people. But wherever interbreeding does not often take place and the influence of foreign civilization is not great, certain anthropological types spring up, which distinguish this people on the average from other peoples. So

with the peoples of Eastern Europe anthropological properties can be observed with greater reliability than with those of Central or Western Europe, where cross-breeding is much more complicated, and the influence of world-civilization is much greater. It is obvious, however, that where there are considerable anthropological differences between large groups of men, if only on the average, those differences are proof, that the groups of men concerned differ also from each other as regards their nationality.

Now anthropological research has proved the following differences between the Ukrainians on one hand, and the Poles and Russians on the other:

The average height of the Ukrainians amounts to 1670 *mm*, of the Poles 1654, of the Russians 1657. The average width round the chest comes to 55·04 per cent of the size of the body with the Ukrainians, 55·11 per cent with the Poles, and 52·18 per cent with the Russians. As regards the shape of the skull there is also a remarkable difference: the average cranial index is 83·2 with the Ukrainians, with the Poles only 82·1, and with the Russians 82·3. A great difference is to be observed in the facial angle, viz. 78·1 with the Ukrainians, 76·3 with the Poles, 76·7 with the Russians.

So it is certain that the anthropological type of the Ukrainians differs essentially from the Russian and Polish types. This difference as early as in the eighties of the last century drew the attention of the famous geographer Reclus, who noticed a closer kinship of the Ukrainians with the Southern Slavs.

As regards historical descent, too, the Ukrainians differ from the Poles and the Russians. While the

Poles descended from the Western Slav tribes, the Ukrainians and the Russians branched off from the Eastern Slavs, the Ukrainians from their Southern group, the Russians from the Northern one. The Ukrainians may be traced back to the Polans, Derevlans, Siverians, Ulitches and Dulibes, the Russians to the Radimitches and Viyatitches. Besides, the influence of Finnish tribes plays an important part with the Russians, which is not the case at all with the Ukrainians. According to Deniker's theory the Ukrainians (as well as the Southern Slavs) belong to the so-called Adriatic (Dinaric) race, while the Poles are to be counted among the Vistula race and the Russians among the Oriental race.

But not only as regards descent the Ukrainians differ from the Poles and Russians, but they have also a peculiar national culture of their own, distinct from both these peoples. The Ukrainian culture is of an older date than the Polish and Russian cultures, in the same measure as the history of the Ukrainian people begins considerably earlier than the history of the Polish and Russian peoples.

As the most important attribute of a peculiar national culture appears, as a rule, a peculiar language. Yet this is not a necessary condition of nationality. There are individuals and there can be larger groups of men, who are compelled by external or other circumstances, or willing of their own accord, to use another language in their every day life, without by doing so losing their inherited nationality. A people as a whole has generally a language of its own; but this is a peculiar matter, considering that two peoples can have the same language as their national

tongue (English and Americans, to a certain degree Servians and Croats), while on the other hand endeavours are not wanting to create a political national union notwithstanding the difference of languages (Yugoslavs). Still it is of greatest importance for a nation, if they can plead, that they have a uniform national language.

Official Russia never recognized the Ukrainian language, but only let it pass as the "Little Russian dialect" of the Russian language. Even granting this assertion to be true, it would not be a sufficient reason for contesting the Ukrainian people's claim to national individuality, considering that a peculiar national language is no necessary property of the notion of people, and that there are actually languages of different peoples, differing less from each other than dialects of one language. But this official theory is decidedly false. The Ukrainians have a national language of their own, distinct from the Russian and Polish languages. Setting aside the views of some politically tainted philologists (such as Florinskyj and others), the general opinion of Slav philologists is, that the Ukrainian language has no nearer affinity with the Russian or Polish languages than, for instance, the Polish with the Czech, or the Servian with the Bulgarian. A final decision was given by the Petrograd Academy of Science in their expert opinion of 1905, that the Russian and Ukrainian languages are two independent languages of equal rank. According to latest philological research (Prof. Stockyj-Gartner) the language most closely connected with the Ukrainian is the Servian and Croat language.

The Ukrainian people has also a literature of its own, the beginnings of which are of an earlier date than of the Polish or Russian literatures. The thousand years of the history of the Ukrainian literature begin as early as the tenth century, at the time of the greatest prosperity of the Empire of Kieff.

It is true that all masterworks of Ukrainian literature of the earliest period of Ukrainian history are claimed by the Russians as being their own, but this conception is based on the Russian "unitarian theory" mentioned above, and is supported by the false statement, that the early Empire of Kieff was Russian in its origin (see chapter III.). Among these masterworks of Ukrainian literature are to be counted the Chronicle of Nestor, the Galician - Volhynian Chronicle, the noble historical epic "Slowo o polku Ihorewi" and many others besides. The language of these masterworks is chiefly Old Slavonic, but as early as the eleventh century it shows an ample admixture of Early Ukrainian elements and a considerable linguistic difference from the literary documents written on the Muscovite territory at the same period.

The Ukrainian literature of the early Empire of Kieff reflected the character of a mighty state. With the decay of the Empire of Kieff (in the thirteenth century) also the Ukrainian literature decayed. Half a thousand years of Tartars' wars and the oppression by foreign states have drained the life of Ukrainian literature. But the five centuries of decay of the Ukrainian literature are at the same time a period of the greatest development of oral popular poetry, which, risen neither on Polish nor on Russian territory, was a peculiar feature, a characteristic

production of the oppressed Ukrainian people. At the end of the eighteenth century written Ukrainian literature reappeared. The Ukrainian vernacular language revived in works of national literature and in the course of the nineteenth century the Ukrainian literature fully developed itself. National poets, such as Shewtchenko, Fedjkovytych, Franko, Stefanyk, Kociubynskyj &c. are among those who would be an ornament to the greatest literatures of the world. But it is still more important to point out, that it is not only by being written in the Ukrainian vernacular language that the Ukrainian literature differs from the Russian and Polish, but that in its character it bears a peculiar stamp, foreign to the Polish and Russian literatures. While the latter are literatures of lordly peoples, accustomed to rule and command, and even after the partition of Poland thinking of nothing but the restitution of their former sway, the Ukrainian is the literature of an oppressed people, living in distress and striving for freedom.

In all spheres of learning, too, brisk activity is shown by the Ukrainian people about the second half of the nineteenth century. The Ukrainian people had long ago to boast of scientific research by eminent scholars, written in their national language, and is now able to refer to a bulky scientific literature as well as to a selection of eminent learned works of the two learned societies of Lemberg and Kieff, organized on the model of European academies of science. The learned society at Kieff has recently been given the rank of an Academy of Science. By all these works the Ukrainian language has proved, that like any other civilized language it is qualified



for the discussion and solution of the most complicated problems of science and learning.

On examining the further cultural phenomena of the Ukrainian people we get about the following picture:

In the old Ukrainian state, which commenced with the foundation of the Empire of Kieff in the 9<sup>th</sup> century (see chapter III.), civilization was very high. It was from the vast treasures of it that the Muscovite state drew later on, and Russia, united under Peter the Great, owes its cultural position to a large extent to Ukrainian civilization. The high level of civilization of the Ukrainian people at that time is best proved by the compilation of Ukrainian customary law of the eleventh century, the so-called "Prawda Ruska". Though the early Empire of Kieff stood under the strong influence of Byzantium, capital punishment was abolished in Ukraina as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century, while corporal punishment was almost unknown. The compilation of law, mentioned above, already distinguishes crimes committed with malice aforethought from crimes by passion. For individuality ample allowance was made. In civil law the wife enjoyed almost the same rights as her husband, after whose death she by rights took the guardianship of her children. The prince was the supreme leader of the army. He was supported by a Council of Boyars. On the prince and the boyars the people sat in judgment. The election of the prince, if there was no immediate right of succession, and the decision about war or peace appertained to the assembly of the people, which was called "Vitché". If the assembly refused their consent to war, the prince

was nevertheless at liberty to take the field, but only with his followers and the volunteers. In the "Vitche" any citizen of age had a vote, but the son refrained from voting in the presence of his father.

At that time the Ukrainians were for the most part a trading people, which kept up a lively traffic with all civilized peoples of Europe. Thanks to these relations the Ukrainian countries very early attained to a high degree of civilization. As early as the beginning of the eleventh century public schools were founded and several libraries existed. The princes were persons of refined education. Prince Wsewolod of the eleventh century is said to have spoken five languages. An abundance of documents of civilization arose in the seclusion of the monasteries of that time. To the great number of accomplished men among the educated lay classes numerous precious documents and works bear eloquent witness.

The Boyars formed the nobility of that time. The Ukrainian citizens enjoyed very high esteem. As regards economy the Empire of Kieff was one of the mightiest of its age. The towns formed the foundation of the cultural, political and social development of the Ukrainian people, and commercial as well as other trading interests gave their stamp to the policy of the Empire of Kieff. Commerce was the vital nerve of Ukrainian political life. At the wealth of Kieff, the capital of the Empire, foreigners marvelled. The peasantry, too, were wealthy: they were free and enjoyed the same rights as the other classes of society.

But this whole civilization ceased, when Poland, and afterwards Russia, ruled the Ukrainian territory. First of all the Polish government brought about the

entire ruin of the Ukrainian middle-classes by paralyzing trade. Ukraina was exposed to incessant attacks of wild nomadic tribes, and as Poland refused to protect them against these incursions, trade with the South and East ceased almost entirely. Also the business-relations of Ukraina with the West were cut off altogether, the Poles forbidding the passage to Ukraina to foreign merchants. Nor could inland trade develop under Polish rule, as the Polish nobility introduced very heavy tolls and inland customs on Ukrainian territory, which had the effect of stifling any traffic. Besides, the Poles began to colonize the Ukrainian towns with foreign colonists. First Polish colonists were called in. But when it appeared that in their business qualities they were no match to the Ukrainians: Germans, Armenians and Jews were employed for the purpose. But when these methods, too, could not entirely suppress Ukrainian trade, the Polish government resorted to reprisals and exceptional measures. Ukrainian merchants and tradesmen were expelled from the guilds, they were forbidden to keep workshops and to offer their goods for sale in towns and on fairs. The Ukrainian citizens were not allowed to buy houses in the towns. Besides, Ukrainian tradesmen were forced to pay special taxes and duties. The contributions, necessary for keeping the army of invasion, were likewise used to ruin the Ukrainian middle-classes. At last the Ukrainian middle-classes were expelled from council and office in towns and forbidden to send their children to public schools. With the Ukrainian middle-classes trade and commerce decayed. But Poland was not able to put Polish trade on the place of the crushed Ukrainian trade.

The Ukrainian nobility, too, was extirpated by the rule of the Poles. After the union of the Ukrainian territories with Poland the endeavour of Polish policy was to force the idea of a Polish state upon the Ukrainian countries. At first it was not easy for the Poles to prevail upon the Ukrainian nobility to comply with their policy. Only a few boyar-families, allured and demoralized by the gay and easy life of the Polish szlachta, attached themselves to them, left their church and their people in the course of time, and turned Roman-Catholic and Polish. A large part of the Ukrainian nobility, however, was Polonized only by force and vexation. The Polish kings partly dispossessed the Ukrainian nobles under the flimsiest pretexts, to confiscate their property, partly they illegally gave away the property of Ukrainian nobles to the Polish szlachta, who attacked them by force of arms and turned them out of their inherited estates. The fugitives often applied for assistance to the Tartars, but by doing so occasioned the intervention of the Polish government with the Tartars, who for a high tribute, paid to them by the Poles, pledged themselves to the latter, to hunt for, and plunder, the Ukrainian nobility. The property of the killed or arrested nobles was confiscated for the estates of the crown. This policy of extirpation towards the Ukrainian nobility drove a large part of them into the Russian camp: many of them took refuge behind the supremacy of Russia.

In Ukraina at first the clergy had the highest education and influence. But the Ukrainian clergy, too, had to fall a victim to the despotism of the Polish nobility. In the beginning the right of filling

up vacancies in the bishoprics and clerical livings of Ukraina was in the hands of the Ukrainian people; after the union of Ukraina with Poland the Polish kings laid claim to this right for themselves.

Dissolute fellows without any theological education, who sometimes did not even know the meaning of the word of 'bishop', were appointed heads of the Ukrainian clerical hierarchy. As archimandrites in Ukrainian monasteries Polish noblemen appear under Polish rule, who only economically exploited the monasteries, and did their best to expose the Greek rites to ridicule and contempt. The Ukrainian lower clergy was systematically depressed as regards their cultural, economical, and social position, and reduced to beggary, the churches and convents were deprived of their property. Thus, among others, the large estates, with which the Ukrainian princes and boyars had endowed the bishoprics and convents of St. Basil in Ukraina, were confiscated for the benefit of the estates of the crown and the private property of the Polish nobility, or used for the endowment of Polish bishoprics, Polish clerical livings, and Jesuit colleges. Numerous churches were taken from the Ukrainians by force and given to the Poles, nay, sold to the Jews. The Roman Catholic priests often rushed upon the Ukrainian parsons in their residences, beat them, and collected the compulsory tithes by force. The Ukrainian clergy (especially in the seventeenth century) very often makes complaint that the squires came upon them and forced them to drudgery and corvée with teams, which the clergy was not liable to. It is true that in 1669 in the Polish Diet the Ukrainian clergy was declared free from

serfdom and statute labour on the manorial estates, but this law was ignored as usual. By these persecutions the Ukrainian bishops and the lower clergy were reduced to such a degree of poverty, that a higher education and theological studies were not to be thought of. The consequence was, that, according to the reports of Polish historians, many Ukrainian churches were leased to Jews. Thus in a memorial of the thime of Sigismund III it says: "The jew took the keys of the church and got a payment from each performance relating to divine service." No wonder, then, that such oppression drove the Ukrainian people to despair and was one of the reasons, why under the hetman Bohdan Chmelnyckyj the whole Ukrainian people rose to shake off the Polish yoke.

Lastly, concerning the Ukrainian peasantry, the Polish nobility did not think of extirpating them, but they endeavoured to enslave them, to make them a part of the inventory, to dispose of them arbitrarily at their discretion. First the peasant was deprived of all civil rights which he had enjoyed in Ukraina, and afterwards he was deprived of all human rights, too. Everything belonged to the Polish squire. Not only the ground, which the peasant tilled, and the cottage he lived in, not only his cattle and his house-hold utensils and furniture, but also himself and his whole family. As to how the Polish squire used his rights, the Polish writer Starowski says the followings words among others: "With us there is freedom for everyone to do as he pleases. The consequence thereof is that the weak become the slaves of the strong and rich. In Poland one is allowed to do anything. Asiatic despots do not torment so

many men to death during their life-time, as it is the case in one year in the free Polish Republic". Even the famous Polish preacher Skarga, who is known as an opponent of the Ukrainian people, says: "On the whole globe no empire can be found, where the peasantry has to suffer such a treatment as in Poland. Large landowners and Captains-General of the counties not only strip the peasant of everything, but also kill him, when and where they like, without even hearing a bad word for it". Special renown as an executioner of Ukrainian peasants was gained by the Polish prince Jeremias Wisnowiecki, whom Polish writers relate to have murdered the peasants, to have had them beheaded, impaled, and their eyes put out with an anger.

No wonder then, that the formerly flourishing Ukrainian civilization decayed and could not fit itself to the requirements of the constant progress of Western civilization. Nevertheless the Ukrainians kept the original mental civilization of their people in its originality to the present day. This peculiar civilization of the broad masses of the population very distinctly separates the Ukrainian people from other peoples.

The peculiarity of the Ukrainian people shows itself already in their family-life. The head of the family exercises no absolute power over the other members of the family. Likewise the position of women is considerably higher with the Ukrainian people than with the Russians or Poles. With the Ukrainians a daughter is never married off against her will. Grown-up sons receive a house and soil from their fathers immediately on being married. With

the Russians the father has to decide about the marriage of his daughter, he is the head of the collective family, over which he exercises his absolute authority. This is impossible with the Ukrainians.

With the Ukrainians the inclination for free associations is very great. The associations are based on perfect equality of work as well as of profit. A foreman is chosen, his commands are obeyed, but he only gets an equal share in the profit, and works together with the rest. With the Russians the *bořshak* chooses his workmen himself, he does not work, and yet gets the largest share in the profit. The aptitude of the Poles for associations is very small.

The Ukrainian community is a voluntary union of free men for the purpose of security, and promotion of the good of the commonwealth. Beyond this the individual will is respected and the members of the community must not, on principle, be confined in their private sphere of action. The principle of perfect freedom of the individual and of the sanctity of private property is in power. The "common landed property" which after Russian model the Russians have instituted in some places of the left side of Ukraina, is repugnant to the nature of the Ukrainian people, and the people openly protests against this institution. Still more repugnant to the inner mind of the Ukrainian nation is the Russian "Mir", which under the pretence of a communist republic subdues the free will of the individual, all the more since the manner of thinking of the Ukrainian peasant is based on the sacredness of his private property and on true personal freedom. Hence it is only under the influence of force and of all measures, which aim at



the extirpation of the abuses of capitalism and the hitherto existing order, that Russian bolshevism could gain prevalence here and there in Ukraina, owing to the present misconstruction of its nature. But this influence is sure to cease, as soon as the violent measures of bolshevism will cease, since bolshevism, which has sprung from the inner mind of the Russian people, can not be reconciled with the Ukrainians, way of thinking at all (see chapter III.).

The Ukrainian peasant's forms of social intercourse are quite different from the rude manners of the Polish or Russian peasant. Great delicacy of feeling, courtesy and civility towards other people, and disinterested hospitality, are the chief features of the Ukrainian peasant's etiquette.

But the world of Ukrainian civilization appears in its highest perfection in the oral popular literature. The philosophical mind of the Ukrainian people finds its expression in an almost countless number of proverbs, parables &c., the like of which we hardly find with the most civilized European nations. The highest degree of perfection is attained by Ukrainian popular poetry. Neither Russian nor Polish popular poetry can be compared to Ukrainian poetry concerning their poetical qualities. In Ukrainian poetry there is a large feeling, a lively appreciation for nature, everywhere we find the glorification of the highest and purest feelings of the human soul. In love songs no trace of sexualism can be found, not the bodily beauty of woman, but her moral beauty are glorified in Ukrainian popular poetry, everywhere with full perfection of form, and harmony between form and subject. Russian popular poetry

is much poorer and entirely different. Polish popular poetry is insignificant.

Hand in hand with Ukrainian popular poetry goes the Ukrainian popular song and the Ukrainian popular art. The scholar cannot fail to notice the essential differences between Ukrainian popular songs on one hand and Polish or Russian popular songs on the other. The Ukrainian popular song is undoubtedly among the finest of the globe. In their music the whole character of the Ukrainian soul is expressed, hence to an Ukrainian musician it is no mystery, why the music of the ingenious composer Tschajkowsky differs so much from the music of the other Russian composers, since Tschajkowsky is of Ukrainian extraction, be it ever so often assured that he called himself a Russian. The Ukrainian popular art, too, is entirely original and of a higher perfection than with the Poles or Russians. Wood-carving with the Huculs has attained to a high degree of artistic development. But the highest prize must be awarded to Ukrainian ornamentation. In embroideries, tissues and beads-needlework we see a blending of colours so aesthetic, that though each colour is gaudy in itself, the effect of the whole is harmonious and artistic. Russian ornamentation is much lower in value, of a different character, and based on different principles. Polish popular ornamentation is much inferior to Ukrainian, where it is not merely an imitation of it.

This short statement proves that Ukrainian civilization has indeed all preliminary conditions, which are indispensable for an independent nation. It must only be given the possibility, by being

admitted into the community of other nations, once more to attain to that level, which, in comparison with European civilization of that time, it had attained once in its historical development. For this purpose the Ukrainian people must get back its political independence which it had at that time.

That it is worthy of such independence will be shown by the further arguments. (Chapters III—V.)



### III. The Ukrainian History.

Though the Ukrainian people was for several centuries of its history under Polish and Russian rule, there can be no doubt, that the Ukrainians have a history of their own, and that their historical traditions are of a type entirely different from those of the Poles or Russians.

Long before the beginning of the Polish and Muscovite states the Southern group of the Eastern Slav tribes founded the State of Kieff, the first state-formation of the people, that to-day is known under the name of "Ukrainians". Originally the State of Kieff, the foundation of which took place at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, had the name of "Rusj", to which in the Latin chronicles corresponds the appellation of "Ruthenia". This is the origin of the name of "Rutheni", which was first applied to the population of the State of Kieff as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The appellation of "Ukrainia" appears for the first time in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and at that time already comprehends all the territories on which the Ukrainian people was settled. But it is only since the 17<sup>th</sup> century that this appellation was generally used, especially since the revolt of the whole Ukrainian people under the Hetman Chmelnyckyj, a change

of names which is not isolated in history (cf. Rumania, that formerly was called Moldavia and Wallachia respectively). Only in the Western parts of Ukraina, especially in Galicia, Bukowina and in North Hungary, the original appellation of "Rutheni" still remained in use for a long time, but had to give way to the common name of "Ukrainians" in the last decades before the War after the new rise of Ukrainian civilization.

The Russians wrongly claim the foundation of the state of Kieff to themselves, as the cradle of the Russian people. The later Russian Empire did not originate in the State of Kieff but in the principality of Suzdal, North East of Moscow. This was not founded before the twelfth century, and in its foundation other peoples took part than in the formation of the Empire of Kieff: There were the Radimitches and Vijatitiches, who belong to the Northern group of the Eastern Slav tribes, besides the Finns, who are not of Slav descent. The Russians are not a purely Slav race, but a blending of Slav blood with Finn.

That the old State of Kieff was not the work of the Russian, but of another people, whose descendants are called Ukrainians, is proved by the fact that the literary documents of that period show Ukrainian linguistic features, and besides by the fact, that the constitution of that time, in spite of the authority of the prince, shows a democratic stamp, which is a characteristic feature of the Ukrainian nationality. The position of the popular assembly, called "Vitche" (see Chapter II.), is a phenomenon not only without a parallel in the history of that time, but utterly inconsistent with Russian or Polish constitutions at any time.

The period of the princes of Kieff was, moreover, of great importance for Ukrainian history, because in its bloom, i. e. under the grand-prince Volodymyr the Great (980—1015) and under his immediate successors, the whole Ukrainian people was united under the sceptre of the grand-princes, and with its national civilization predominated over Eastern Europe of that time. Especially the whole country, which at present is known under the geographical name of East Galicia, formed an integrant part of the Empire of Kieff, and when afterwards the latter was divided into several principalities, East Galicia for a long time still remained in a close alliance with the Empire of Kieff. Nay, what is still more, when the former Empire of Kieff by being divided into several principalities was considerably weakened, so that it was not able any longer to resist the wild hordes of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, the traditions of the State of Kieff passed on the principality (soon afterwards the kingdom) of Halitch in the Ukrainian territories of East Galicia and North Hungary (the name of Galicia comes from Halitch). While in East Ukraina the Mongols devastated the country and, little by little, the influence of the new Muscovite Empire made itself felt, the kingdom of Halitch remained a powerful state, which however could not last more than one century. It could not resist the Tartars, on one hand, and the Poles and Lithuanians on the other. After the dying out of the dynasty of Halitch the kingdom fell to Poland in 1340; the rest of the Ukrainian territory (Vollhynia and Kieff) was taken possession of by Lithuania. So the first state-formation of the Ukrainian people perished.

In Lithuania the higher civilization of the Ukrainian element at first gained preponderance. The Ukrainian language predominated at the court of the Lithuanian princes and even in legislation. With the cultural importance of the Ukrainian element its political importance, too, increased. But this influence decreased considerably when Prince Jagiello of Lithuania ascended to the throne of Poland, and united his Lithuanian, hence also the Ukrainian, countries with the Polish (1386). A desperate struggle for predominance in the empire began between the Polish-Lithuanian and the Ukrainian elements, which by the battle of Vilkomir (1435) was decided in disfavour of the Ukrainians. So the Poles took the rule of the Ukrainian people.

How the Poles exercised their rule over the Ukrainian people, was described in the second chapter. In the Polish-Lithuanian state the irreconcilable antagonism between the Polish and the Ukrainian historical traditions, between the aristocratic régime of the Poles and the constitution of the Ukrainians, striving for liberty and equality of all citizens, expresses itself.

Fate allowed the Poles to survive the dismal period of the partitions and of the invasions of the Mongols, which brought about the ruin of the Ukrainian state, so it was not difficult for them to consolidate their kingdom on the model of the monarchies of Western Europe. The common people fell into serfdom, while the upper classes seized the whole power in the Polish state. Aristocracy and nobility took the helm, and after the Poles, by conquest and especially by the union with Lithuania,



succeeded in bringing the countries between the Baltic and the Black Sea, and with them the Lithuanians, White Ruthenians, and Ukrainians, under their rule, the aristocratic spirit pervaded everything, and the consequence was that the way of thinking of a ruling nation has become a second nature with the Polish people.

But as the single noble houses in Poland were at feud with one another, the Polish Empire could not defend the Ukrainians against the Tartars. So the defence of the Ukrainian people against the Tartars, who coming from the Crimea, invaded Ukraina as far as the heart of Volhynia and Galicia, was left to themselves. The Ukrainian population, therefore, had perpetually to be ready for battle. Thus in the sixteenth century the organization of a military state sprang into existence among the Ukrainians, which had its centre below the rapids of the river Dniepr. This organization was called Zaporogian Sitch. It was based on a military system, with strict military discipline, but at the same time it offered full equality of rights to all. The whole power rested on the General Assembly of the Zaporogian citizens, who all enjoyed equal rights. Officers and officials were elected by the people, and it was their duty to execute the decree of the General Assembly. The freedom of the individual was guaranteed, but he had to subordinate himself to the common will. That the aristocratic constitution of Poland opposed itself to such a democratic constitution of Ukraina, and that the Polish nobility tried by the most atrocious means to destroy this organization, was the consequence of the aristocratic insolence of the Polish

nobility and the aristocratic traditions of the Polish history. The barbarous rule of the Polish magnate Jeremi Wisnowiecki and of other Polish noblemen drove the Ukrainian people to despair and in 1648 the Ukrainian Zaporogian Cossacks, whom the whole Ukrainian people from the Dniepr to the San joined, rose under the leadership of the Hetman Bohdan Chmelnyckyj to shake off the Polish yoke and to regain their independence. The victorious Ukrainian forces were successful and all Ukraina became independent again. So for the second time in history the independent Ukrainian state came into existence.

But it had not fallen to the lot of the Ukrainian people to keep their full independence for a long time. Owing to the previous misgovernment of the Poles matters in Ukraina were so neglected, that a long time was needed to restore peace and order. Nor did the Tartars discontinue their invasions, and the Poles always thought of recovering Ukrainian territories. So Chmelnyckyj had to look out for an alliance. He negotiated with Poland, Turkey, Transylvania and Sweden, until at last he resolved to conclude a treaty with **Russia** at **Pereyaslav** in 1654.

The Treaty of Pereyaslav was by its legal nature a spontaneous alliance of two independent states; and a union in the modern sense of the word. Unjustly Russian scholars are interpreting this treaty as an incorporation of Little Russia, since a merely superficial analysis of this treaty will suffice to convince any one of the tendency of this misconstruction. The Russian Tsar was only offered a kind of supremacy; for the rest full independence was reserved

to Ukraina in all matters of her own administration, legislation, in her judicial, military, and church affairs. The Ukrainian people was to elect the head of its Republic, the Hetman, by free choice, and the Hetman elected by the free vote of the general assembly, had even the right of carrying on an independent foreign policy.

The treaty of the Ukrainian people with Russia forms an important turning-point in Ukrainian history. A new subject of sovereignty stretches out his hand over the Ukrainian people, not to the advantage of the latter. So the Ukrainian history gets into an immediate connexion with the history of the Russian people, and this is a people, whose national traditions run counter to the national traditions of the Ukrainian people.

While the Ukrainian people by its constitution demanded full freedom and equality, and equal participation in the government, of all free citizens, we see the Muscovite people as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century striving for rigorous centralization in their state and for absolute, despotic power of the prince. The people assisted the prince in crushing the importance of the boyar nobility and of the clergy and in obtaining despotic power in the state. The despotism of the prince, afterwards of the Tsar, became the mark of distinction of Russian history, which, sprung from the inner mind of the Russian people, has helped the Russian Empire to obtain the position of a great power in Europe. Russian historical traditions give the absolute power in the state to a person, fitted out with divine authority, and to an oligarchy, forming his retinue. Outside this despotic circle the whole

people appears as a misera plebs, having only to, and being ready to, obey. On similar leading ideas the entire social system in Russia is based; the common property of the community, the "Mir", the working men's organization with the bolshak at their head (see Chapter II. &c.). Even modern bolshevism is the development of the same fundamental ideas, the result of the specific psychology of the Russian people; only the Tsar and his camarilla were supplanted by the oligarchy of the working men's council, despotic in their rule and absolute against all other classes of the misera plebs (Particulars see below).

So it cannot be wondered at, that from the moment when Ukraina got into immediate connexion with Russia, the fate of her independence was decided in her disfavour. Soon after the conclusion of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, however, Russia was too weak to accomplish the subjugation of Ukraina on her own risk. The kingdom of Poland was still a mighty rival and for his part would not yield up Ukrainian territories. Therefore Russia concluded a treaty with Poland at Andrussov in 1667, by which Ukraina was split up into two parts: the Western territories fell under Polish, the Eastern ones under Russian rule.

In Western Ukraina, which had come under the Polish sphere of power, Ukrainian political life and the military organization of the Cossacks rapidly decayed after this division.

In Eastern Ukraina, which remained with Russia, the Russian government began their intriguing and made use of every opportunity to curtail the autonomy of Ukraina guaranteed by the Treaty of Pereyaslav. Step by step the Russian Tsars subdued the Ukrai-

nian people to their despotic rule, and when Hetmann Mazepa, at the time of the Great War with Sweden, formed an alliance with King Charles XII. to shake off the Russian yoke, he was defeated by the Russian army in the battle of Poltava, the Ukrainian rebellion was suppressed by Peter the Great amidst terrible atrocities, and the autonomy of Ukraina was entirely abolished. In 1775 the last stronghold of Ukraina, the Zaporogian Sitch, were destroyed by the Russians, and with them the last remains of the second Ukrainian state ceased to exist.

Now the systematic subjugation of the Ukrainian people was extended to the domain of culture. The unitarian theory, invented by Peter the Great (cf. Chapter II.), was in the first place directed against the Ukrainians, and the Russian governments dealt severely and resolutely with anything connected with the cultural independence of the Ukrainian people.

Thus at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the whole ecclesiastical literature in Ukrainian language was prohibited and at the beginning of the eighteenth century a general prohibition of printing Ukrainian books was issued. Ukrainian schools were closed, and the Russian language, which was foreign to the broad masses of the Ukrainian population, was introduced in the schools. The Uniat faith was suppressed altogether in Ukraina, and all those who professed it were forced by cruel persecutions to embrace the Orthodox faith.

At the same time Russia began to work to the partition of Poland. As the Polish Empire was getting weaker and weaker by interior troubles, it was not difficult for Russia to bring it to ruin and to pluck

the ripe fruit, i. e. to appropriate the most important Ukrainian territories, that still were under Polish rule, to themselves on the partitions of Poland (1772 – 1795). Only East Galicia and North Bukowina fell to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the partition.

In the Ukrainian territories incorporated in Russia, the Russian Empire continued to maintain the unitarian theory of Peter the Great and suppressed by force all endeavours of the Ukrainian people at an independent development of their culture. Thus also those Ukrainians, who formerly had stood under Polish rule, were given the new name of “Little Russians”, and the Russian government most ruthlessly applied the former policy of extermination of nationality against this new issue of “Little Russians”. Yet the attempts at Russianizing the Ukrainians could not be successful. It is true that Russian culture, by means of public instruction and by the absolute prohibition of the Ukrainian language in the press and in public life, exercised a mighty influence on the Ukrainian educated classes, nevertheless the feeling of national independence remained alive in the people, and the national Ukrainian literature began to flourish again (see Chapter II.). Besides, a lively political intercourse between the Ukrainians living in Russia and those living in Austria is to be noticed, a national movement springing up among the Austrian Ukrainians, which directly aspired to the political independence of the Ukrainian people.

While in Russia all efforts of the Ukrainian people to regain their independence were suppressed by force, the Austrian Ukrainians made use of their constitutional rights, and with their political opponents,

the Poles, carried on an unequal political war, which more and more came to a critical point and took larger and larger dimensions.

Between the two irreconcilable opponents, the Ukrainians and the Poles, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy made her appearance as a third party, and the mere fact that there was a third party, who had the right to intervene as an arbitrator, immediately after the partitions of Poland roused great sympathies and hopes for the Austrian rulers with the Ukrainian population. The first rulers, Maria Theresa and Josef II., acquired so much merit by their liberal reforms in favour of the peasantry, that the memory of their rule is still living with the Ukrainian people. This is why the Ukrainian population afterwards, too, stood faithfully by the side of the Austrian rulers, although the latter soon changed the system. When in 1846 the Polish Republic of Cracow was incorporated in the Austrian Monarchy, the Poles claimed, that West-Galicia should be united with East-Galicia into one crown province and that they should be entrusted with the rule of the whole country. Against this claim the Ukrainians solemnly protested and in 1848 demanded, that Galicia should be divided into two crown provinces and that the administration of East-Galicia should be left to the Ukrainian people. In the period of the absolute reign of the Emperor Francis Joseph I., 1850—1860, Galicia remained divided into two administrative districts: the administrative districts of Lemberg and Cracow. This division was adjusted mainly to the frontiers of the two peoples living in Galicia, the Ukrainians and the Poles. As late as 1867, after the disastrous war with Germany.

the Austrian constitution created a far-reaching autonomy of the provinces with special privileges of the Diets. By this constitution the wish of the Poles was complied with, and the whole of Galicia, hence the Polish as well as the Ukrainian part of the country, were united into an administrative union under Polish rule. It is true that the constitution of 1867 proclaimed equality of rights for all peoples in school, office, and public life, but the Austrian government delivered up the Ukrainians to the Polish majority in Galicia and thus a new political war was kindled between the two peoples, in which the Poles were intent on more firmly establishing and extending their provincial autonomy, while the Ukrainians continued to protest against the Polish autonomy and to demand the division of Galicia into two provinces according to the territories of settlement of the two peoples.

The Austrian government complied with all wishes of the Poles, because they wanted their votes in parliament, and the Poles always demanded new political rights in return, on the expense of the Ukrainians. But the more the Poles oppressed the Ukrainian people, the more grew the national consciousness and the power of resistance of the Ukrainian people. But in spite of all persecutions and reprisals Ukrainian civilization developed more and more, and when manhood suffrage and vote by ballot were introduced, they found well-organized political cadres of the Ukrainian people. As the Poles continued to exercise their sovereign rights over the Ukrainian people without fulfilling the least of duties, the Ukrainian people took to self-defence of their cultural, economical and political life. But their self-defence met



with the general opposition of the Polish lords, so that political fights of many years had to be carried on to obtain the permission of opening a public school, in which instruction was to be given in the Ukrainian language, or of founding an Ukrainian agricultural cooperative society with a sphere of action and a statute of its own. Ukrainian elementary school training was entirely suppressed, the number of Ukrainian elementary schools decreased more and more under the administration of the Polish educational council of the province, on the other hand Polish teachers were systematically appointed in Ukrainian elementary schools, to force the Ukrainian population to learn the Polish language and to increase the number of analphabets in Ukrainian schools. Notorious was the struggle of the Ukrainian students for the foundation of an independent university at Lemberg, which in spite of the great ability of the academic youths and of several scholars of Ukrainian nationality met with an open "Veto" of the Polish lords and has remained an unrealized demand to the present day. Notwithstanding the abolition of serfdom the Ukrainian peasant was treated as a serf by the Polish squire and was not allowed to enjoy any human rights, until the agrarian strikes taught the Polish land-owners, that they were not allowed to treat the peasants as part of the inventory. Nevertheless during the War the Polish land-owners, under pretence of war measures, tried to introduce compulsory labour on their estates and to reestablish the old *corvée*. It was only by their energetical resistance that the farmer's wives succeeded in putting a stop to the insolence of the Polish lords.

The administration of Galicia lay in the hands of the ruling Polish circles and the Ukrainians were almost entirely excluded from participation. The whole administrative apparatus of East Galicia was utilized to prepare the elections, and by persecutions and threats the Polish lords succeeded in forcing all Jews to become instruments of Polish policy, and by vexations and falsifications the Ukrainians were deprived of their true national representatives, in all representative bodies of the communities, the districts, the province, and the empire. It is generally known that Galician elections cost much blood of the Ukrainian peasants. But beyond the preparation of elections the Polish administration did not do anything that might be profitable for the country. Agriculture was encouraged only inasmuch as it was a question of subsidizing the Polish large land-owners and of presenting them with the means, which enabled them to lead an easy life; nevertheless they were losing their importance from day to day, since they squandered the subsidies which they received, and many of them were forced to sell their estates. For the encouragement of trade and commerce large estimates were granted in the budget, but the sums melted away in the hands of different Polish functionaries and nothing was done for the promotion of trade and commerce. In short: many millions were squandered under Polish administration, which encumbered the budget of the province and brought it to insolvency, but yielded no profit to the province, and especially to the Ukrainian part of it. Thus Polish high-ways and lanes, and "Polish household" in general, have gained a world-wide reputation.

The assertion of the Poles, therefore, that it is to them that the Ukrainians owe their civilization and their orderly state of affairs, must decidedly be repelled. On the contrary, it is they who almost reduced the Ukrainian peasant to beggary (confer the arguments of the Polish writer Szczepanowski: "Distress in Galicia") and made a proletariat of the Ukrainian middle classes. Nevertheless the Ukrainian people entered into the political warfare against the Polish lords on their own strength, and were not diverted from their endeavour by any persecutions.

The political struggle between the Poles and the Ukrainians got harder and harder and the Poles redoubled their hatred and their persecutions, when at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the conservative party of the Polish aristocracy and nobility lost their influence and the Polish bourgeoisie and civil servants founded a new party, which took up the struggle for the re-establishment of Poland in her former historical frontiers. As the endeavours of the Ukrainian people were running counter to this idea, the new Polish party, the Pan-Poles, allied with all elements that could assist them in the suppression of the Ukrainian ideas of independence. That accounts for the alliance of the Pan-Poles with the Russians, and thus it is evident, why the Pan-Poles openly supported the Russophile propaganda, which Russia made in Austria. Although the Pan-Poles were wrestling for preponderance with the Polish aristocracy and liked to call themselves a democratic party, they remained as imperialistic and aristocratic by nature as the former political rulers. Nor did things take another turn, when during the War, a reconciliation took place

between the Pan-Poles, the People's Party, and the Polish Social-Democratic party. The historical traditions of a ruling nation were maintained as before and all those parties did not change their position regarding the Ukrainians, for it remained an axiom with them, that the Ukrainians were a *quantité négligeable* and had to submit to the Polish rule. The aristocratic principle was still predominating among the political parties of Poland, and the Pan-Poles adopted the old aristocratic traditions of the Polish empire unchanged from their political predecessors. No reconciliation, therefore, is possible between the aristocratic system of Polish sway and the democratic system of national self-determination of the Ukrainians.

When the War broke out, the Ukrainians were altogether oppressed in Austria by the Pan-Poles and in Tsaristic Russia by the Russian Nationalists. At the outbreak of the War the Austrian Ukrainians declared for the Central Powers. It is evident that they could not on any terms side with those powers, who were allied with Tsaristic Russia. For Tsarism kept nearly 35 million Ukrainians in its "jail of nations" and the independence of Ukraina was not to be thought of, as long as Tsarism with its unitarian theory existed. Away from Russia! was the device of the Ukrainians. To overthrow Tsarism the Austrian Ukrainians placed their legions at the disposal of the Central Powers. Besides, the Austrian statesmen at the beginning of the War promised to deliver the Ukrainians from the Polish yoke. Could then the Ukrainians turn against the Central Powers?

Meanwhile the Ukrainians, who lived in Russia, were forced to fight against the Central Powers on

the side of Russia, and it is said that they were not reluctant to do so. On the contrary, the chronicle of events of the first year of the War proves that it was exactly the Ukrainian soldiers and officers, who took a prominent part in the victories of the Allied Powers in Eastern Europe. Yet it can be said with full certainty, that the threads of revolution had for a long time been stretched all over Russia and that the Ukrainian leaders knew, that the Ukrainian people could be delivered only by a great revolution.

Although the Ukrainians of Austria had declared at the beginning of the War, that they were aiming at the overthrow of Russian Tsarism, the Poles,<sup>4</sup> who up to the War had aided the Russophile propaganda, made use of the outbreak of the Great War to represent the Ukrainian people to the military circles of Austria as being Russophile, and to charge "Ruthenian treachery" with all defeats of the Central Powers. The Polish administration of Galicia opened this campaign of defamation for the purpose of delivering up all educated Ukrainian elements, so far as they did not serve at the front, to the revenge of Austrian militarism, and thus making impossible the deliverance of the Ukrainian people of Austria. Under the control of the Polish authorities the leaders of the Ukrainians, who had always fought against Russophilism and Tsarism, were denounced, many thousands of guiltless Ukrainians were hanged, and the atrocities committed against those who were transported to Talerhof, are a blemish in Austrian history; but at the same time they prove, how far advanced the Polish political circles were in their national hatred, that they did not shrink from dis-

gracing the whole Ukrainian people, thus to get rid of their troublesome political opponent. The Polish political circles will never be able to clear themselves of this charge, though the method practised by them was soon turned against members of the Polish people, and the court-martial death-sentences against guiltless Ukrainian citizens, that were executed on Polish denunciations or by Judges of Polish nationality (e. g. the Polish judge Stanislas Zagorski, who had hundreds of guiltless Ukrainian peasants and clergymen put to death, as can be seen from several reports in the "Arbeiterzeitung", the social democratic paper of Vienna), and the arbitrary killings of Ukrainian citizens by military detachments on the strength of Polish calumny speak so eloquent a language, that it is not to be wondered at, if the whole Ukrainian people would rather cease to exist altogether than any longer bear the Polish rule.

Therefore the representatives of the Ukrainian people in Austria demanded, that Galicia should immediately be divided and all Ukrainian territories should be united into a separate province with Ukrainian self-administration. But till 1918 the Austrian government did not think of complying with this demand of the Ukrainian people, on the contrary, they were ready at any time to establish a separate position of Galicia and to deliver up the Ukrainians to the Poles, the more so as both emperors of Austria dreamt of the crown of Poland and were willing to push on the Austro-Polish solution (i. e. the union of Austria and Poland under one monarch) with all possible means, hence over the heads of the Ukrainians.

But it was not before the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918 that the Central Powers saw themselves compelled to approach the Ukrainian problem. For strategical reasons they were obliged to make peace with Russia under any circumstances, and for economical reasons they wanted provisions from Ukraina. In Russia Tsarism had already fallen down and the Russian revolution broke all chains, that had been imposed upon the Ukrainian people: Ukraina then proclaimed her independence. (Particulars see below.) Now Ukraina was ready to make peace, but she demanded on the one hand, that the ethnographical frontiers should be punctually observed in the North West (Kholm and Podlashe), on the other hand that the Ukrainian territories of Galicia and Bukowina should be reunited with Ukraina. Thus the first historical opportunity, at which Ukraina appeared as an authoritative factor, showed, that the idea of the union of all Ukrainian territories had never died out in the people. Now the Central Powers in the Brest Treaty expressed the recognition of the Ukrainian Republic, but they would not cede the Ukrainian territories of Austria. In a secret treaty, however, they obliged themselves to separate the Ukrainian territories of Austria from West Galicia and to create a separate province of them with Ukrainian administration. The Austrian Prime Minister Seidler signed this secret treaty and pledged his word to the parliamentary representatives of the Ukrainian people, that he would perform it.

Up to this moment the Ukrainian members of the Austrian parliament had been in opposition to the government. But after the conclusion of the Brest

Treaty, which recognized the independence of the Ukrainian Republic, and after the promise, that the Ukrainians would be delivered from the Polish yoke, it was evident that the Ukrainian representatives had to support the Seidler government, and as Dr. Seidler was backed by German parties in parliament, the Ukrainians, after the conclusion of the Brest Treaty, consistently joined the German government-majority. While the Poles had for decades, and even during the War, allied themselves with the Germans against other Slav peoples, the Ukrainians had always been in opposition to the government and to the German parties, and it was not before the independence of Ukraina had been recognized by the Central Powers and the division of Galicia had been promised, that they declared themselves ready to take part in the government. This once only the Ukrainian representatives voted with the Germans, and only when the holiest rights of the Ukrainian people were at stake. Nor could the Ukrainians be interested in any further support of the Germans, when Dr. Hussarek, who succeeded Dr. Seidler as President of the Council, informed the Ukrainians, that he was no more ready to perform the secret Brest Treaty concerning the division of Ukraina.

When the break-down of the Central Powers was inevitable, the Austrian Emperor Charles, by his manifesto of October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1918, tried to save the continuance of the Austrian Monarchy by conceding to all nations the right of constituting independent political organisms on their territories and then setting up a confederation. Separate national states, then, were formed but they had no desire to establish a



confederation. The Monarchy ceased to exist. The Ukrainian National Assembly at Lemberg, on October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1918, decreed the establishment of an independent Ukrainian republic on the Ukrainian territories of Austria-Hungary. The new state, in the meeting of the Ukrainian National Council at Lemberg on November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1918, received the name of "Republic of the People of West Ukraina".

The Poles, however, at once took up a hostile attitude towards the establishment of the Ukrainian Republic. The Ukrainians demanded from the Austrian government, that on the strength of the above-mentioned manifesto the administration of East Galicia and North Bukowina should be given to them, but the Austrian government was too weak to perform the manifesto in favour of the Ukrainian people, for the Emperor of Austria was still dreaming of the Polish crown. So the Ukrainians saw themselves compelled, when Austria was going to pieces, to enforce the taking-up of the administration from the Austrian governor at Lemberg on their own risk. Getting the start of the Poles, they succeeded on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918, with the assistance of troops of Ukrainian nationality, who were stationed at Lemberg, in disarming other forces and taking possession of all departments of the administration at Lemberg. Now the Poles resorted to the well-tested means of calumny, to make the world believe that the revolution at Lemberg had not been brought about by Ukrainian, but by German and Austrian forces. This assertion is decidedly as false as all other rumours spread about by the Poles, concerning the alleged assistance of the Germans at the taking-up by the Ukrainians

of the administration in Galicia. If in the Ukrainian forces of East Galicia there were, by way of exception, officers of German nationality, it was only those who after November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1918, had joined the Ukrainian army as volunteers, most of whom had been born in Galicia and had during the War served in regiments, where the great majority of the men were of Ukrainian nationality. Perfectly fictitious were also the news, fabricated by the Poles, that the Ukrainians had promised the crown of Ukraina to the Austrian archduke William H a b s b u r g; for, on the contrary, archduke William, who had voluntarily put himself at the disposal of the Ukrainian National Council, had to resign the command of the Ukrainian legion and to retire from his position: he has now for some time been living in St. Basil's Convent at Buczacz.

Let the Poles say whatever they will, yet they cannot deny the fact, that after the chains, which had been imposed on the Ukrainians by the Austrian government, had been broken, the whole Ukrainian people of East Galicia rose to defend their territories against the Poles. At the beginning of November 1918 the Ukrainians wanted to take the administration of their national territory in their hands without bloodshed. But when the Poles drove them from Przemysl and Lemberg by force of arms, nothing was left to the Ukrainian people but to enter into the war with the Poles. Still now a bitter war is being waged in East Galicia between both peoples, it openly being the aim of the Ukrainian people to shake off the Polish yoke once for all. It would be downright ridiculous to speak of "German intrigues", or to pretend

that the Ukrainians are not fighting for self-determination as a nation, but for other reasons.

Of still greater consequence than what happened on the Ukrainian territories of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, were the events on the territory of Great Ukraina within the bounds of the former Russian Empire. With this report we come to the last epoch of Ukrainian history, which may be said to be of the greatest importance for the appreciation of the historical mission of the Ukrainian people.

As was said before, Tsaristic Russia went to the war to destroy the Ukrainian Piedmont in Galicia and Bukowina, and thus to give the death-blow to the Ukrainian people's spirit of freedom. Therefore still in times of peace all preparations were made, definitely to secure this object in war. On the one hand the nationalist circles of Russia set in with a widespread Russophile propaganda in Galicia, Bukowina, and North Hungary, to prepare the Ukrainian people on these territories for the entire union with Russia and separation from Austria, on the Ukrainian territories of Russia on the other hand they used every possible means, by dislocation of Russians in the most important centres of Ukrainian trade, to nip the propagation of the Ukrainian people's endeavours for national independence in the bud. They appointed nationalist Russian officials everywhere in Ukraina, encouraged the incessant immigration of the Russian educated classes and Russian commercial and manufacturing circles into the large towns of Ukraina, and with them great numbers of Russian working men came into Ukraina, so that in all large towns of the country, especially in Kieff and Odessa,

a great majority of "true Russian people" entirely overflowed the paltry contingent of Ukrainian middle class people. Besides, it must be taken into consideration that the Ukrainian educated classes themselves often allied with those Russian organizations, who wanted to bring about the break-down of Tsarism and thereby a new social order in Russia. Thus at Kieff the best organized cadres were those of the ill-famed "Black Hundred" in the service of Tsarism, and on the other hand the organizations of the Russian revolutionaries, in which Ukrainians, too, took part, and by which the revolutionary doctrines of the Russian circles were propagated among the Ukrainian educated classes. In these organizations the Ukrainians played an important part.

During the War the Russians took care that in Ukraina chiefly such troops should be dislocated, as had a majority of Russians; in the Russian territory, on the other hand, many Ukrainian troops were stationed. It is known that the Petrograd garrison on the day of the outbreak of the revolution consisted mainly of Ukrainian troops, who immediately after the revolution was proclaimed, held a procession in Petrograd and solemnly demanded the independence of Ukraina.

But all these means were not able to prevent the living mind of the Ukrainian people from striving for deliverance. In the broad masses of the population the historical traditions of a free and independent people continued to live in spite of all violent measures. For a long time these ideas had to be cherished in secret, but when with the proclamation of the Russian revolution the chains of Tsarism were broken,

the whole Ukrainian people at once declared its independence and could not be diverted from its demand by the great numbers of Russians in the large towns of Ukraina. All classes of the people united and elected the Central Rada at Kieff, who with their Commissaries of the People demanded the recognition of the autonomy of Ukraina from the revolutionary government of Russia.

Now it appeared again, that the inner mind of the Russian can never be reconciled with the inner mind of the Ukrainian people. Although with the break-down of Tsarism and the beginning of the revolution free scope was given to true freedom and democracy, the revolutionary government of Russia from the outset contented themselves with only proclaiming liberal ideas, among which was also self-determination of the peoples, but they were far from granting self-determination to the numerous peoples of Russia and especially from actually allowing the Ukrainian people's claim for self-determination. Tsarism was crushed, but the spirit of the absolute rule of the peoples by an oligarchic upper class, which had been the fundamental idea of Tsarism and the result of the historical traditions of the Muscovite people, in contradistinction to the Ukrainian people's ideas of true democratic liberty and equality, was upheld, and Russian despotism only changed its name. The Tsar was supplanted first by the Government, which was composed of several members, but soon the ranks grew thinner, the contest between Miljukow and Kerenskyj was decided in favour of the latter, and Kerenskyj, supported by the favour of the Russian people, usurped the dictator-

ship. There was an autocratic ruler of Russia again, but in his dictatorship he was only disturbed by the fact, that he could not claim that general recognition, which in their time the Tsars had gained for centuries, and the consequence was, that other dictators, too, appeared, such as Kornilov, Kaledin and others. Thus the Russian revolution, in the very first months of her existence, degenerated into a contest for the rule between several dictators.

But all those dictators agreed in denying the Ukrainians their national independence and in using all means conceivable to rule them from Petrograd as before and to paralyze their endeavours for independence. Thus between the Russian revolutionary government and the Central Rada at Kieff a continuous fight began, the latter having to defend themselves not only against the attacks of the Russian government of Petrograd and Moscow, but also against the attacks of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, formed of soldiers and workmen of Russian nationality at Kieff, Odessa, Kharkoff etc. For from the moment when the Ukrainian Central Rada formed at Kieff and demanded the national autonomy of Ukraina, they had the whole Russian people against them; who-soever had a Russian way of thinking and feeling, fought with all their power against the demand for the independence of Ukraina. Now as before the inner mind of the Russian people culminated in the ideal of absolute rule: It is only the Russians who can rule, and only single persons; all others have to obey.

On exactly valuing these facts, one is surprised how much elementary force there was in the Ukrainian

people, that in the very first year of the Russian revolution it resisted the perpetual hostilities of the Russian government as well as the incessant intrigues and revolts of the Russian circles in Ukraina. This was the people which immediately before had been officially declared not to exist, to be only a branch of the Russian people, as it were, a quantité négligeable without a civilization and a tradition of its own.

In these circumstances the Ukrainian people and its organ, the Central Rada at Kieff, could not at once step forth with the demand for entire separation from Russia, and at the beginning they confined themselves to the attainment of autonomy on all Ukrainian territories of Russia. But the more they insisted on the performance of their autonomy, the more they met with the opposition of the Russian government at every turn, and with regular revolts of Russian circles in Ukraina. So the Ukrainian people had to understand, that by friendly arrangements they would never effect the autonomy of Ukraina within Russia, and this understanding soon became so general, that the government of the Central Rada, that consisted of supporters of a free federation of Ukraina with Russia, had to give way to another government, who were ready immediately to carry into effect the common national ideal of independence of Ukraina without federation with Russia, even against the will of Russia. The result of the elections for the Russian Constituent Assembly was an overwhelming majority of Social Revolutionaries in Ukraina, who demanded the entire separation from Russia, and when the Constituent Assembly was

driven away by the latest Russian government of the Bolsheviks, nothing was left to the Central Rada but to proclaim on their own authority what they had wanted to obtain from the Constituent Assembly. Thus at Kieff at the beginning of 1918 an independent Republic of the Ukrainian People was proclaimed and thereby the separation of Ukraina from Russia was accomplished.

In Russia a Bolshevik government was formed with Lenin and Trotzkyj at their head. They at once gained a large popularity by declaring, in contradistinction to the former revolutionary governments, that they were willing at once to make peace with the Central Powers. It was the general opinion in Russia that the disastrous war should be finished at all costs, to enjoy the results of the revolution in peace. The Bolsheviks were in need of peace to help their endeavours to triumph. They were conscious that the great numbers of returning soldiers would be the best material for securing the communist propaganda. They were ready to deliver up to them not only the last remains of the Tsaristic regime but also all organizations of the propertied classes without any restriction, to create the future cadres of the bolshevist regime out of the millions of the army-forces flowing back in disorder. The War and the revolution had turned millions of workmen and soldiers out of work, therefore the Bolsheviks resolved to bring these millions to their side by giving them full scope, by delivering up the propertied classes to them, and then by enrolling them in their own Red Guards.

As apostles of peace the Bolsheviks at once got the rule over the whole of Russia. To shape this



rule to the latest fashion, they also proclaimed self-determination of the peoples and during the peace-negotiations they recognized Ukraina as an independent contracting party and granted the Ukrainians the right of self-determination which was claimed by them. Nevertheless this recognition was of a nature merely theoretical, for soon such an antagonism appeared between the Bolshevist government and the Ukrainians, that on the conclusion of the Brest Treaty it came to an open rupture, and the Ukrainian representatives at Brest were forced to conclude the Treaty with the Central Powers earlier than the Bolshevist government did in the name of Russia.

For one has to take the following facts into consideration :

In the same measure as the first Russian governments during the revolution had remained faithful to the historical traditions of the Russian people, the Bolshevists, too, are a true embodiment of the Russian mind, with a propensity for the rule of a small oligarchy and the implicit obedience of the people. But the leaders of the Bolshevists went farther than their predecessors, they dreamt of ruling the world. They did not content themselves with Russia, so they preached internationalism. But in the former Empire of Russia they wanted to rule all peoples alone and directly, and by self-determination of the peoples they understand, that all peoples of the former Russia should be forced to recognize the sovereignty of Russia and thereby the rule of Russian Bolshevism.

On closer examination of its nature Bolshevism will be found to be of a creation specifically Russian. Socialization of all instruments of production as well

as communism, which the Bolsheviks pass off as their religion, require a stern, absolute rule, which has to take the management of the whole social apparatus into strong hands. For such an order, which can be created only over the head of the individual, a foundation had long ago been created in Russia. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter it was pointed out, how the institution of the common property of the community, the Mir, the working men's organization with the "Bolshak" at its head, were the natural outcome of the specific mind of the Russian people. Now Bolshevism makes a general principle of these institutions, so it is not to be wondered at, that in the second year of the Bolshevik government a stern organization was already introduced in Russia. Individual freedom and equality are supplanted by the equal subjection of all to the rule of the oligarchy, much as it had been under Tsarism. Only that the rulers are now called Lenin and Trotzkyj, and instead of the Tsaristic camarilla the Workmen's Councils hold their meetings, and they, too, are mainly blind tools in the hands of the rulers, and as the representatives of a very small class of the Russian people (the industrial proletariat) they deserve the name of an "oligarchy". But while Tsarism had been got over by modern history, Bolshevism has seized the latest catchwords, which are especially qualified to unite all malcontents, and it is no secret, that in Russia the discontent of the broad masses dates from centuries past and was pushed to extremes by the Great War.

In the Ukrainian people, however, in spite of all discontent no foundation ever existed for Russian Bolshevism, especially because it is a Russian creation

which is utterly inconsistent with the mind of the Ukrainian people. Full freedom of the individual, equality of all citizens, the right of all to cooperate in the government of the community on democratic basis: these are inborn wants of the Ukrainian people; hence its unswerving demand to keep and protect **private property**. Only where history has established illegalities and deprived the working people of their soil, to bestow it upon the privileged classes of the large land-owners, the Ukrainian peasant demands abolishment of the illegalities and allotment to the peasants, against reasonable compensation, of the estates of the large land-owners, which had in their time accrued to them contrary to law. It is obvious that this demand has nothing in common with Bolshevist communism.

On the contrary, when we study the history of the last two years of war without prejudice, we see that there is such an antagonism between Russian Bolshevism and the Ukrainian point of view, that a fundamental conflict arises, wherever Bolshevism endeavours to subdue the Ukrainian people.

Still before the conclusion of the Brest Treaty the undisciplined masses of the Russian army were flowing back from the front. In the Ukrainian large cities there were Russian workmen's and soldier's councils, and thus all "true Russian people" united to deprive Ukraina of her independence. The Ukrainian government had no national army at their disposal and was so imperilled by the Bolshevist soldiers, that after the conclusion of peace they had to recourse to the protection of the Central Powers. (It is true that the Allied Powers before the conclusion of

the Brest Treaty wanted to induce the Ukrainians to continue the war, but it was impossible to do so against the will of the whole people. So the Ukrainian government was forced to enter into negotiations with the Central Powers and to sign the Brest Treaty). Bolshevist propaganda, with which the "true Russian people" set in, began to be dangerous in the country, too, as the Bolshevists used all means of agitation and promised everything to the peasants, to interest them in their Russian aims. Therefore the Central Rada at Kieff, was forced to promise far-reaching agrarian reform on the expense of the large land-owners to the Ukrainian peasantry, to put an obstacle in the way of Bolshevism.

The German forces drove the Bolshevists from Ukraina, but soon became implicated in an entirely wrong policy against the Ukrainian people. The Central Rada was overthrown and a dictatorship was established under the protectorate of the Germans. A large land-owner of the name of Skoropadskyj, who was at the same time a brother-in-law of the German general Eichhorn, was appointed Hetman and commenced his rule with the assistance of the German forces and of the Russian oppressors. He made an enemy of the whole Ukrainian people.

But when after the victory of the Allied Powers the German forces had to leave Ukraina and the Hetman wanted to deliver up the Ukrainian state to Russia, Skoropadskyj's rule was done for, the whole people rose and he had to leave. In the formerly Russian part of Ukraina the independent and autonomous Republic of the Ukrainian People was again proclaimed. Since the capture of Kieff by

Petlura's Ukrainian forces the Ukrainian people has regained its independence on the formerly Russian territories.

Before this came to pass, the events of war created new national states on the territory of the late Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, among them also the Republic of the People of Western Ukraina. (See above.) When it was proclaimed, Hetman Skoropadskyj, who, with the assistance of the German forces, as was said before, ruled against the will of the Ukrainian people, was still at the head of the government at Kieff. At that time the government of the Republic of the People of Western Ukraina could not unite with Skoropadskyj's government. But from the moment, when the government most hostile to the people was done away with at Kieff, the idea of the Union of all Ukrainian territories revived and on January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1919, this union was solemnly proclaimed. The Directorate of the Ukrainian People at Kieff on January 21<sup>st</sup>, 1919, confirmed this union by the solemn declaration of the union of all Ukrainian territories into one great Republic of the Ukrainian People.

Immediately after the German forces had left Ukraina and the Ukrainian national forces had occupied Kieff, the Bolshevists appeared again with their propaganda and with their schemes of conquest. As the Ukrainian large towns still show a great majority of Russians and as the Cossacks of the Don as well as the numerous miners of the Donetz basin are now among the followers of Bolshevism, they can very easily make incursions into Ukraina. They are endowed with large funds by the Russian

Bolshevist government and always get succour directly from Russia.

At present the Ukrainian Directorate is in a state of war with the Russian Bolshevists. They have ordered further enlistments of recruits in Ukraina and the levy is going on well. The Ukrainian government is quite aware of the fact that they have to carry through the war against the Bolshevists to the end, because only they are threatening the independence of Ukraina.

Wrongly the opponents of the independence of the Ukrainian people want to prove, that the Ukrainians themselves are Bolshevists and are not to be trusted in spite of their warfare against the Bolshevists. Such assertions have a distinct tendency and are due to perfect unacquaintance with the actual circumstances.

It was already proved above, that the Ukrainian people decidedly reject Bolshevism as a form of government and can never be reconciled to it. In spite of their fight against Bolshevism agrarian reform appears as a **condition sine qua non** of the Ukrainian constitution. The Ukrainian formula, however, does not say **socialization** of the soil, but **nationalization** of the same. For the latest Ukrainian Workmen's and Peasants' Congress in Ukraina (in January of this year) resolved that **private property** should be kept, but demanded that the estates should be purchased from the large land-owners by the state and allotted to the peasants against reasonable compensation, which should be paid to the state by the peasants. Only at the beginning of Bolshevist agitation there were some so-called supporters of the ideas

of Bolshevism among the Ukrainian peasants, but this was only due to the fact that many peasants did not understand the difference between socialization and nationalization of the soil. After the latest Workmen's and Peasants' Congress there can be no doubt, that the Ukrainian peasants decidedly disapprove of the Bolshevist principle of socialization.

Russian Bolshevism, however, is not only a danger for Ukraina, but for the whole of Europe, not only because it disposes of catchwords highly effective on states of the soul caused by war psychosis, and therefore can be spread everywhere like a contagious disease, but also because on the ruins of individual freedom and equality and in the place of true democracy of the peoples it proclaims the preponderance of **one** class, that will rule and subdue all others. European culture with the countless treasures of intellect and civilization is threatened. Therefore the danger must be localized, not to degenerate into a chronic disease. Insofar as Bolshevism is in accordance with the mind of the Russian people, it shall be upheld, but confined to the Russian people.

This localization can be carried out only by the Ukrainian people. As the immediate neighbours of the Russians, only the Ukrainians can prevent the sphere of influence of Bolshevism from being extended to the rest of Europe and there striking deep roots. If the Ukrainian people stops Bolshevism on its way, it can appear in Europe only for a short time and by way of exception, for Ukraina is the connecting link between Orient and Occident.

The Ukrainians are also in the first place fit for this task, because thereby they are protecting their

own independence. For so many centuries Ukraina had to ward off the pillaging expeditions of the Mongols, Tartars, and Turks, and by doing so has gained great merit in the history of European civilization. This time, too, she is ready to perform a similar mission against Bolshevism, but she demands loyal support in return and admission into the European community of peoples.



#### IV. The Ukrainian Territory.

As far as its history can be traced back, the Ukrainian people was, on the whole, settled on the same territory as at present. Thus at the time of the great-prince Volodymyr the great in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the frontiers of the State of Kieff did not include much more nor essentially other territories, than belong to the ethnographically coherent national territory of the Ukrainian people at present. It may justly be said, therefore, that the present Ukrainian territory is marked out not only by history but also by ethnography, hence that the territory claimed by the Ukrainians is their **ethnographical** as well as **historical** territory. But as only the **ethnographical principle** is to be taken into consideration at present (see 1<sup>st</sup> chapter), it can be noticed that the former historical frontiers have given way a little in the West, but have largely extended towards the East. In the West the Ukrainian territories originally reached as far as the Vislok and even as far as the Visloka, tributaries of the Vistula, while at present, except for the territory of the Lemkes, which goes far back to the West in the Carpathian Mountains, not many territories reach beyond the river San (likewise a tributary of the Vistula). On the other hand the

Ukrainian settlements are expanding more and more towards the East, so that at present great numbers of them reach the Volga and the Caspian Sea.

Leaving this purely ethnographical process, however, out of the question, it must be stated that the Ukrainian territory was never extended on the expense of foreign national territories. The Ukrainian people never aimed at conquests and annexations, it was itself, on the contrary, the object of foreign conquest, and for many centuries it was split up between two foreign state territories (Poland and Russia, see 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter). The consequence was that the Ukrainian people, save on its coherent national territory, is represented on foreign territories only by virtue of the natural process, while on the Ukrainian national territories the former conquerors very often had the chance of partly substituting their own settlements for the original settlements of the Ukrainian people. In the larger towns on the coherent Ukrainian territory as well as here and there in the country we find a population composed of many nationalities and among them sometimes a large percentage of Poles or Russians. This circumstance is, on the one hand, fully justified by the Ukrainian history down to the present day (see 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter), on the other hand it is not such as, in any way, to prejudice the frontiers of the coherent Ukrainian territory, all the more since the actual settlements of foreign nations on the latter appear only as islands in the large Ukrainian sea.

It would be a great injustice, if the Peace Conference should grant any right over the whole Ukrainian territory, or over parts of it, to the Poles

or Russians, under the pretext that the Ukrainian territories here and there show a considerable percentage of Polish or Russian population. The spirit of the modern age is not favourable to one-sided conquests and annexations, since self-determination of the peoples is inconsistent with it. The injustice which Germany committed by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine must be repaired. Thus restitution must be made for all one-sided conquests, hence also those territories which in course of history have come under the sway of other peoples by conquest, must be given back to the nation, which is settled on them. As neither the Polish nor the Russian islands within the Ukrainian territory are the result of former annexations, neither Poland nor Russia can lay claim to the Ukrainian territory on this legal title. This also settles the argument, so often alleged by the Poles, that because of the large percentage of Poles living on the Ukrainian territory they are entitled to claim as much of the Ukrainian territory, as corresponds to the number of the Polish population living there.

But the Poles are going farther in their demands. They are claiming the whole of Galicia (hence East Galicia, too,) the Governments of Kholm, Podlashe, and a part of Volhynia for themselves.

Let us now contemplate the population on these territories.

A. We first of all begin with **Galicia**.

It is well known to every scholar that, wherever on earth one nation is ruling another, the statistics of nationalities always turn out in favour of the ruling nation. Considering that before the war the Ukrainian

people on all parts of its national territory was under the sway of different foreign nations, it is obvious that official statistics reduced the numbers of the Ukrainian population. This was the case in Russia, in Bukowina, in Hungary, and in Galicia.

In **Galicia** it was of great consequence to the Poles, by means of their administrative apparatus to prove that in the whole of **Galicia** the Poles had the majority; this was easily done. But when the political struggle between the Poles and the Ukrainians confined itself more and more to East Galicia, the Poles used all their energy, to curtail the great majority of Ukrainians in **East Galicia** by force at every census, and by falsifications carried on systematically to attain in course of time, that according to official statistics the number of the Poles in East Galicia appeared to be almost equal to the number of the Ukrainians.

For this purpose they used different means.

First of all they effected by their influence in the Austrian central offices, that in the official publications Galicia was always treated as one administrative union: so at first glance it was concealed from any foreigner, that in East Galicia not the Poles, but the Ukrainians had a great majority.

Besides, the Poles made the most of the fact, that the official statistics contained no column for nationality, but a column for "language spoken in every day life", the languages allowed by law being particularized. As the "Yiddish" language was not recognized by law, the Jews of Galicia had to be entered in the columns of the Polish, the Ukrainian, or the German language, and the consequence was,

that with very few exceptions the Jews, whether they liked or not, were forced by the Polish authorities to enter their names in the column of the Polish "spoken language". Although the "language spoken in every day life" can not by its nature be fit unquestionably to define the nationality of the individual, still the opinion is adhered to that nothing but the nationality is decided by this column, and that the "language spoken in every day life" was introduced into the census statistics immediately for the purpose of fishing in the troubled waters. The consequence was that not only almost all Jews were entered as Poles, but also all somehow dependent elements of other nations (chiefly Ukrainians) were stamped as Poles. Above all, those Ukrainians who embraced the Roman Catholic faith, were almost without exception entered as Poles, although they were Ukrainians not only by their mother tongue but also by descent. Many Germans, too, who were Roman Catholics, were often entered as Poles.

Lastly the organization of censuses in Galicia was such as to encourage falsifications of the official statistics at every turn. According to the regulations the censuses in the country had to be carried through by the local authorities: but their superintendence fell to the duty of the chief magistrates of the district, and in East Galicia the consequence was, that, for communities which were likely to return the true numbers of the Ukrainian population, the Polish chief magistrates appointed special commissioners of Polish nationality, who arbitrarily entered the Ukrainians as Poles. On the manorial estates the lords of the manor were entrusted with specifying the nationality of all

their attendants, and as the lords of the manor were mostly Poles, the grossest falsifications in favour of the Poles are to be found in their returns. In the larger towns at last census forms were introduced, which had to be filled in by the master of the house. Neither servants nor sub-tenants entered their particulars in the columns, but this was done by the master of the house himself. That is why in larger towns falsifications so often occur in favour of the ruling, i. e. the Polish nation.

The entire inadequacy of the official statistics of the "language spoken in every day life" for the proportion of the Polish to the Ukrainian population can be seen by a comparison of the results of scientific calculations after the ethnographical method of the forties and fifties of the past century with the returns of the official statistics of later censuses, and by a comparison of the official censuses with each other.

The first three calculations after the **ethnographical** method, which eliminate the **Jews as a separate nationality**, show the following figures for Galicia.

#### I. Ethnographical Calculation.

Year of Census	Ukrainians %	Poles %	Germans %	Jews %
1846	50·1	40·9	20	6·9
1851	50·1	40·9	20	6·9
1857	46·0	42·0	25	9·4

One can see that the first ethnographical calculations (1846, 1851), which were carried through

without any immediate influence of the Polish authorities in Galicia, show an **absolute majority of Ukrainians** even for the whole of Galicia (i. e. West and East Galicia together). Only in the third calculation of 1857 the majority of the Ukrainians in Galicia is a relative one.

From the year 1869 the principle of **individual census** is substituted for the ethnographical method in the official statistics. The second census of 1880 already contains the column of "language spoken in every day life", the Jews being classified under the Polish, the Ukrainian and the German language, most of them naturally under the Polish, so that the Polish language in Galicia at once shows an absolute majority.

## II. Official Statistical Returns according to "Language spoken in Every Day Life".

Year of Census	Ukrainian %	Polish %	German %
1880	42.9	51.5	5.5
1890	43.1	53.3	3.5
1900	42.2	54.8	2.9
1910	40.2	58.5	1.1

Now both tables cannot easily be compared with each other, because in the first the Jews are eliminated as a separate nation, while in the second they are distributed among Poles, Germans and Ukrainians. For the third ethnographical survey of 1857 the ethnographer Ficker has also made a calculation, in which the Jews are distributed among the nations of

Galicia according to the territories of their residence, and has got the following figures: **Ukrainians** (with Jews) 50·14<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>; **Poles** (with Jews) 47·07<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>; **Germans** (with Jews) 2·72<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. Only these figures can be compared with the returns of the official statistics, beginning from 1880. If we do so, we see that between 1857 and 1880 the number of Ukrainians is said to have decreased from 50·14<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> to 42·9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, while at the same time the Poles are supposed to have increased from 47·07<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> to 51·5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, and the Germans from 2·72<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> to 5·5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>.

At these returns of the census of 1880 we are all the more astonished, if we consider that between 1869, when the first census was taken, and 1880 the number of Roman Catholics increased only by 7·92<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, while at the same time the number of Uniats increased by 8·75<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. It is a well known fact that in Galicia the Ukrainians almost through-out profess the Uniat creed, the Poles almost without exception the Roman Catholic creed. Thus the returns of the statistics of denominations are in a striking opposition to the statistics of languages. To rightly value the latter, (Table II) one has, therefore, to go back to the statistics of denominations.

In 1869	the number of Roman Catholics	was by	193.233	} greater than the number of Uniats
" 1880	" " " " " "	" "	198.569	
" 1890	" " " " " "	" "	208.822	
" 1900	" " " " " "	" "	236.808	

Reduced to percent, the increase of the Uniats between 1869 and 1880 was by 0·83<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> greater than of the Roman Catholics. Between 1880 and 1890, however, the increase of the Uniats is smaller by



0.01% than of the Roman Catholics, and between 1890 and 1900 it is smaller by 0.1%.

If with this we compare the percentage of the languages, we see that in 1890 the increase of the Polish language amounted to about 15%, while the increase of the Ukrainian language does not much exceed 10%. Between 1890 and 1900 the Polish language increases by more than 13%, while the number of persons speaking the Ukrainian language rises only by 9%.

This striking difference between the returns of the official statistics concerning the "languages spoken in every day life" and the returns of the same statistics concerning the denominations is evidently due to incorrect survey. What in former decades still used to occur by way of exception, that single persons of Uniat creed, by reason of their public or private service, professed the Polish nationality, does not occur any more at present. On the contrary, both national camps in Galicia have so distinctly marked the frontiers between each other in the last decades, that renegades, who wanted to fling off their Ukrainian nationality, always had the courage of changing their religions, too, and becoming Roman Catholics, so that at present it may be frankly said, that the type of "*gente Rutheni, natione Poloni*" has died out altogether. So there can be no doubt to any initiated person, that the long forgotten "Un Ukrainien, gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus", who appears as the author of the article". "La Pologne, l'Ukraine et la Lithuanie" in 'Le Temps' of February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1919, is a true Pole with the Polish ideology of a ruling

nation (see chapter II.), who surely exchanged the Uniat for the Roman Catholic creed a long time ago, or never before professed the Uniat creed at all. (Indeed he will look out in vain for another Ukrainian, who would in the present time uphold the opinion maintained by him.)

One example will suffice to clear up the **Method** of falsification in the censuses of Galicia. The census of 1880 returns for the city of Lemberg:

1. According to denominations:

Roman Catholics . . . . .	58.602
Uniates . . . . .	17.496
Jews . . . . .	30.961

2. According to "language spoken in every day life":

Poles . . . . .	<b>91.870</b>
Ukrainians . . . . .	6.277
Germans . . . . .	8.911

If we combine these figures with each other, we come to know in which way the number of 91.870 Poles in Lemberg was got in the census.

First of all from the number of Roman Catholics . . . . .	58.602
the number of the Germans must be subtracted . . . . .	8.911
Thus we get the sum A of . . . . .	<u>49.691</u>
Then from the number of Uniates . . . . .	17.496
we subtract the number of Ukrainians . . . . .	6.277
So we get the sum B of . . . . .	<u>11.219</u>
Lastly the sum C of the Jews must be taken into consideration . . . . .	30.961

Now if we cast up the sums  $A+B+C$ , we get

A . . . . .	49.691
B . . . . .	11.219
C . . . . .	30.961
the total of . . . . .	<u>91.871</u>

i. e. the same figure as the number of the Poles in the census returns.

Evidently the following method was applied: From the number of Roman Catholics the number of the Germans was subtracted, but the number of the Jews was added in return and besides two thirds of the Uniats had to add to the number of the Poles. This process frequently recurs *mutatis mutandis* in the censuses of all larger towns. It is obvious that such a method cannot be fit to give the correct numerical proportion between the Poles and the Ukrainians.

Therefore another way has to be found to come nearer to truth. While the statistics according to "language spoken in every day life" cannot be used for ascertaining the nationalities, the official **statistics of denominations** is much more fit for the purpose of estimating the true numerical proportion between the Poles and the Ukrainians. In fact the Ukrainians of Galicia have been Uniats from ancient times, while the Poles on principle always professed the Roman Catholic religion.

Some corrections will certainly have to be allowed, but they must be made on the expense of the Poles rather than of the Ukrainians. In fact there are by far more Ukrainians of Roman Catholic denomination in Galicia than Poles of Uniat deno-

mination, because the Roman Catholic clergy are carrying on a far-reaching propaganda among the Ukrainian population, but the neophytes seldom go the length of giving up their nationality and going over to the Poles; on the other hand it was mentioned above, that in these latter days there are no persons professing the Uniat religion, who might rightly be considered as Poles. Besides, from the total number of Roman Catholics of Galicia those Germans have to be subtracted, who profess the Roman Catholic creed. Finally the Galician statistics of denominations are not quite free from objection, and especially in the last decades, where the falsification of the statistics of languages took larger and larger dimensions, gross errors are to be found in them at times, all the more since the tendency of reducing the number of the Uniats or giving quite inaccurate returns, is prevalent indeed among the census organizations.

Leaving this tendency out of the question, the **statistics of denominations**, in spite of their shortcomings, are the only official basis, from which one has to start, to get an approximative notion of the numerical proportion of the Ukrainians to the Poles. But as for this purpose one cannot restrict oneself to the general returns of the census, but has to take into consideration the numerical proportion in the single communities, nothing is left but to go back to the **census of 1900**, because only of this census special returns for the places of Galicia and Bukowina are at our disposal, which is not the case with the latest census of 1910. Besides, the returns of the census of 1900 deserve to be given preference to the

census of 1910, because for the Ukrainian territories of Russia we can avail ourselves only of the census of 1897, the returns of which can be more adequately compared with the returns of the former than of the census of 1910.

So the **statistics of denominations according to the census of 1900** will be taken as basis of the following arguments, other statistical evidence being referred to only by way of exception. In our arguments we shall confine ourselves to the **Ukrainian national territory**.

In order not to weary the reader, we shall content ourselves with shortly sketching general outlines without giving a detailed description of the frontiers.

The Ukrainian national territory in Galicia comprises, first of all, the whole of East Galicia as far as the river San; West of the San several communities are situated on the left bank of the river along its lower and middle course. Towards South all communities of the district of Dobromil and Lisko belong to the coherent national territory of the Ukrainians. To this a long strip of Ukrainian land is connected in the South-West along the Carpathian Mountains as far as the last Ukrainian community in the district of Nowy Targ, which is called Shlakhtova. Here the ethnographical frontiers cross several communities and do not coincide with the frontiers of the political districts.

The area amounts to 55.300 square kilometres. On the coherent national territory the Ukrainians live in 59 political districts or parts of districts, the city of Lemberg forming a separate political district.

Leaving at present Lemberg City and the Environs of Lemberg out of the question, the Ukrainians form an absolute majority in all districts or parts of the districts. In the City of Lemberg the Ukrainians were in the minority with  $18\cdot3\%$  and in the Environs of Lemberg with  $49\cdot3\%$ .

On the whole there are only 17 districts or parts of districts, where the Poles form more than  $25\%$  of the population. They are the following districts:

Sanok	(part)	1.098·0	square kilometres	Poles	$30\cdot0\%$
Brzozow	"	95·2	"	"	$31\cdot4\%$
Przemysl	"	939·1	"	"	$30\cdot8\%$
Jaroslaw	"	861·2	"	"	$27\cdot1\%$
Cieszanow	"	1.136·2	"	"	$32\cdot7\%$
Mosciska	"	754·6	"	"	$29\cdot8\%$
Sambor	"	948·1	"	"	$27\cdot2\%$
Rudki	"	703·0	"	"	$25\cdot3\%$
Brzezany	"	1.161·9	"	"	$27\cdot0\%$
Podhajce	"	1.060·0	"	"	$27\cdot5\%$
Buczacz	"	1.192·7	"	"	$27\cdot6\%$
Czortkow	"	694·2	"	"	$25\cdot0\%$
Husiatyn	"	872·9	"	"	$26\cdot3\%$
Trembowla	"	697·3	"	"	$37\cdot7\%$
Skalat	"	917·0	"	"	$33\cdot6\%$
Tarnopol	"	1.164·0	"	"	$29\cdot5\%$
Zbaraz	"	739·6	"	"	$30\cdot4\%$

In the other districts and parts of districts the percentage of the Poles varies from  $1\cdot1\%$  or  $4\cdot4\%$  respectively to  $23\cdot9\%$ .

The whole Ukrainian territory in the 59 districts or parts of districts comprises 3,759 inhabited places, among them only **352** places (including the City of Lemberg) with an absolute majority of Poles. The Germans have an absolute majority in 77 places, the Jews in 43 places. There are, besides, 114 places in which the numbers of Jews, Ukrainians, and Poles compete with each other, but none of these nationalities forms an absolute majority; among them the Ukrainians have a relative majority over the Poles in 71 places. Of all 3,759 inhabited places of the whole Ukrainian territory in Galicia **the Ukrainians have an absolute majority in 3,173 places.**

All these figures, which are taken from the statistics of denominations of the census on 1900, prove sufficiently that notwithstanding the considerable percentage of the Polish population, especially in the environment of Lemberg and in Galician Podolia, the Ukrainian territory in Galicia forms an ethnographically coherent body.

The Poles, however, refer to the official statistics of languages of the census of 1910. (Why the Ukrainians refuse the statistics of languages, was already explained above. To the census of 1910 they object all the more, since from the records of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, especially from the numerous interpellations of Ukrainian deputies it can be seen, with which violence this census was carried through against the Ukrainian population.) According to the returns of the statistics of languages of 1910 5 districts in East Galicia show a majority of Poles.

III. Language spoken in every day life.  
Census of 1910.

District	Ukrainian %	Polish %	German %
Lemberg (Environs)	36.6	61.6	1.8
Przemysl . . . . .	44.6	52.2	2.2
Skalat . . . . .	47.7	52.0	6.3
Tarnopol . . . . .	48.0	51.4	0.4
Trembowla . . . . .	48.0	51.7	0.1

According to the census of 1880 all these districts still showed a majority for the Ukrainian language. In the census of 1890 the district of Skalat for the first time returned 49.8% for the Polish against a minority of 48.5% for the Ukrainian language. In 1900 the picture changed: The district of Skalat had again a minority for the Polish language, while the Environs of Lemberg showed a small majority in favour of the Polish language. In the census of 1910 all of a sudden the 5 districts named above returned a majority for the Polish language.

But the difficulty is that the statistics of denominations of the census of 1910 lead to entirely different results and downright reduce the value of the above figures, concerning the languages, to nothing. The **statistics of denominations** in these districts return the following figures:



## IV. Denominations. Census of 1910.

District	Uniats %	Roman Catholics %	Jews %
Lemberg (Environs)	45·9	43·4	8·7
Przemysl . . . . .	50·0	35·8	14·1
Skalat . . . . .	50·3	36·6	13·2
Tarnopol . . . . .	53·5	32·5	13·9
Trembowla . . . . .	51·5	39·4	9·04

To infer a majority of Poles in the districts named above from these figures, is certainly a very bold enterprise. But the proportion is in fact much more in favour of the Ukrainians, if we consider that the organs of the Polish administration in the very surveying of denominations were intent on reducing the number of the Uniats. So it is needless to refute the reference to an alleged majority of Poles in these districts.

There only remains the City of Lemberg, which according to the statistics of denominations, too, shows an absolute majority of Poles. On closer examination, however, this majority is not so certain as it appears. According to the census of 1900 the following figures are returned for the City of Lemberg:

Entire population . . . . .	159.877	
Roman Catholics . . . . .	82.828	= 51 $\frac{0}{10}$ %
Uniats . . . . .	29.327	= 18·3 $\frac{0}{10}$ %
Jews . . . . .	44.258	= 28·5 $\frac{0}{10}$ %
Others . . . . .	4.464	= 2·2 $\frac{0}{10}$ %

According to languages :

Polish . . . . .	120.634
Ukrainian . . . . .	15.159
German . . . . .	20.409.

In the statistics of denominations those returned in the column of "Others" are chiefly Protestants. As they are throughout Germans, we are not wrong in reckoning more than half of the Germans among the Roman Catholics. Granting even, that about 5000 Jews in Lemberg entered their names in the column of the German language, which does not seem very probable, we get the sum of 11.935 Germans professing the Roman Catholic religion. If we subtract this figure from the figure of the Roman Catholics (82.828), the sum of 70.893 Roman Catholics is left for the Poles, i. e. **only 44.3%** of the entire population.

The untrustworthiness of the official statistics has induced Ukrainian scholars to recast them judicially, in order to obtain well established results. Recently Dr. Tomashivskyj, lecturer at the University of Lemberg, undertook this task and, after a critical recast of the whole statistical material, has got the following round figures for the **Ukrainian territory in Galicia :**

Entire population (1910) . . . . .	5,200.000
Ukrainians . . . . .	3,850.000 = 74%
Poles . . . . .	630.000 = 12%
Germans . . . . .	65.000 = 1%
Jews . . . . .	640.000 = 12%.

These figures show, that East Galicia is indeed a territory not so purely Ukrainian as the French

departments with their overwhelming French majority, but that it is not inferior to many other territories, e. g. in Poland, as to the percentage of the permanent nation.

But before we are going to speak of the Ukrainian territory outside the frontiers of the former Galicia, we must define our attitude regarding the latest demand of the Poles. The Poles have of late been declaring the Bug-line to be the frontier of their national territory in Galicia. This line which follows the Bug, a tributary of the Vistula, from its head, is neither founded on history nor on ethnography. It is not historical, because it never played any part in history; it is not ethnographical, since it cuts off more than two thirds of the Ukrainian territory for the Poles; nor is it a geographical frontier, because it follows the Bug only in the North East, and from there to the Carpathians is entirely without any foundation. But the Poles insist on the Bug line only to support, on the one hand, their (likewise unfounded) claims to the whole Kholm district (in the Russian part of Poland), on the other hand to take possession of the City of Lemberg and its environs as well as of the purely Ukrainian oil-territory of Drohobycz. But as was proved above, these imperialist appetites are entirely without any foundation.

*B.* North of the point where the river San, before it flows into the Vistula, touches the frontier between Galicia and the Russian part of Poland for the first time, the Ukrainian territory extends on the soil of the former Russian Empire, and the first country that belongs to the Ukrainian national territory, is the

**Kholm district**, and the territory South and East of Kholm, i. e. **Volhynia**.

Here we meet with the Russian official statistics. We can only refer to the **Russian census of 1897**. Here the Ukrainians are officially called "Little Russians". As this census was taken by the official Russian circles, who were ill-disposed towards the Ukrainians, and the census in Russia was rarely able to give objective, exact, and reliable results owing to the unequal intelligence, and still more to the unequal carefulness of the census officials, it can easily be proved on a merely superficial critical inspection, that by the census of 1897 the number of the Ukrainians was considerably reduced in favour of the Russians (Great Russians). The grossest falsifications occur in the larger towns.

But there is no such corrective for the Russian official statistics of nationalities as the statistics of denominations in Galicia, where the Uniat creed is so characteristic of the Ukrainian nation. Official Russia does not know the Uniat creed, for all traces of it have been effaced by force, and the orthodox faith is professed by both, Russians and Ukrainians alike. The Poles in Russia have kept their Roman Catholic religion. So nothing is left but to take the official statistics of nationalities of 1897 as a basis, although—with certain reservations.

Yet just for the Kholm territory the proportion of denominations is of great importance.

From a historical point of view the Kholm territory was most closely connected with the Ukrainian part of Galicia. Under the Romanowitchs, till the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it formed an integrant part of the Galician-

Volhynian Empire, called the kingdom of Halitch. Though it early came under Polish rule, it has always kept its ethnographical pureness as a Ukrainian territory, although the influences of the Polish elements and of the Roman Catholic religion made itself felt. The great masses of the Ukrainian population resisted all Polonizing tendencies; but when under the Polish rule a union of the Orthodox Church with Rome was started, the larger part of the Ukrainian population of the Kholm territory, like those of Galicia, embraced the Uniat faith. After the partition of Poland the Kholm territory came under Russian rule and Russia, as was mentioned above, did not want to recognize the Uniat faith. So religious persecutions commenced in the Kholm territory, and their result was, that a large part of the Ukrainian population under Russian pressure embraced the orthodox faith, and a smaller part under the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, who set in with their propaganda, preferred to turn Roman Catholic. Nevertheless most of the Ukrainians, who became Roman Catholics, remained faithful to their national traditions, and it is certainly sheer arrogance of the Poles, to count the permanent population of the Kholm territory among the Polish nationality, only because part of them are Roman Catholics.

The Polish claims to the Kholm territory are only justified inasmuch, as in the West of the Kholm government they have actually displaced the former Ukrainian element by a permanent settlement of Polish peasants. The Polish-Jewish majority in the towns can be no guide for the demarcation of the ethnographical frontiers (see 1<sup>st</sup> chapter).

According to the official census of 1897 the Ukrainians have an **absolute majority** in 6 districts of the Kholm government (Ukrainians 52·6<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>, Russians 3·7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>, Poles 24·4<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>, Jews 15·3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>), therefore all these 6 districts must be included in the Ukrainian national territory. Only in two South Western districts, Bilgoraj and Zamosc, the Poles are in the majority, but there is a great number of Ukrainian communities, which is closely coherent with the Ukrainian national territory. Therefore all these Ukrainian communities, ethnographically connected with the coherent Ukrainian territory, must be incorporated in the same.

So the boundary line between the Poles and the Ukrainians in the Kholm territory starts from the point, where the river San approaches the former frontiers between Galicia and the Russian part of Poland, runs over Tarnograd, Bilgoraj, Shtcherebreshyn, Zamosc, Krasnostav, Lubartov, Radyn, Lukov, Sokolov, Dorohytchyn, Bielsk, and reaches the river Narev in the government of Grodno. Here the frontiers between the Polish and Ukrainian territories meet with those of the White Russian territory and here the Northern frontier of Ukraina commences.

If this boundary line is drawn as was just specified, there can be no doubt that the claims of the Poles to **Volhynia**, which is situated South-West of the Kholm territory, are quite unfounded. The census returns the following figures for Volhynia: Population 2,989,482, among them 70·1<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> Ukrainians, 3·5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> Russians, 6·2<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> Poles, 13·2<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> Jews, 5·7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> Germans, 0·9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> Czechs. So the Polish claim to the **Bug line** (see above) is without any foundation, all the more since their frontiers in the Kholm territory at

most reach the Vepr, a tributary of the Bug, and only near Zamost form an enclave on the other side of the Vepr.

C. **The Northern frontier of Ukraina** starts from the White Russian territory in the West. Here first the so-called **Podlashe** on the territory of the former government of Grodno comes into question. This territory, too, is claimed by the Poles; with how little right, is shown by the following figures:

V. Russian Census of 1897.

District	Entire Population	Ukrat- nians %	Russians %	White Russians %	Poles %	Jews %
Bielsk . .	164,441	39·1	5·9	4·9	34·9	14·9
Brest . . .	218,432	64·4	9·9	—	3·9	20·8
Kobryn . .	184,453	79·6	4·0	—	2·2	13·7

The above figures prove, that the territory of the three named districts of the Government of Grodno belongs to the Ukrainian national territory. All of them form the frontier-line between the Ukrainians and the White Russians.

This frontier-line continues towards East and touches the former government of **Minsk**, in which the whole district of Pinsk (74·3% Ukrainians) and the Southern part of the district of Mozyr (79·4% Ukrainians) belong to the Ukrainian territory. Here the frontier-line runs chiefly along the river Pripet, turns to the South only near Mozyr, touching the Vollynian frontier for a short distance and reaching

the Dniepr at the mouth of the Pripet. From here the frontier sweeps round towards the North and follows the Dniepr up-stream as far as the mouth of the river Soz. From here it continues a little towards North East, and forming some sinuosities reaches the administrative frontier between the governments of Mohilew and Tchernigov. Here the vicinity of the White Russians ends and that of the Russians begins.

*D.* To give an exact description of the ethnographical frontier between Ukraina and the **Russian territory** is not an easy problem, and chiefly in the North it is difficult to state, without close investigations being made on the spot, where the Ukrainian territory ends and the coherent Russian territory begins, all the more since the official Russian statistics are made much in favour of the ruling nation. It must be observed, besides, that the territories in question were not colonized by a dense population before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The colonists came partly from Ukraina, partly from the Russian territories, and their settlements are situated side by side, mostly separated from each other, so that to the present day a purely Ukrainian village touches a purely Russian one, and the number of ethnographical islands on both sides of the eventual line of demarcation will be very large.

According to the official Russian census the government of **Tchernigov** comprises 11 districts with an overwhelming majority of Ukrainians (91·9% Ukrainians, 3·2% Russians, 4·6% Jews, 0·3% Germans). These undoubtedly belong to the coherent Ukrainian national territory. But there are still 4 di-



stricts with a majority of Russians. In these 4 districts, however, leaving the unreliableness of the returns of the official Russian statistics out of the question, there is so large a population of Ukrainian nationality, who partly live on a coherent territory, partly separated from each other, moreover the Russian population of these districts has been so closely connected with Ukraina by their history (all these territories were under the command of Colonel Ivan Netchay at the time of the Hetman Chmelnyckyj): that the elimination of these 4 districts from the Ukrainian territory would meet with the opposition even of the Russian majority. Therefore the Republic of the Ukrainian People claims the whole government of Tchernigov, including the 4 districts with the official majority of Russians, but they are ready at any time to take the chance of a plebiscitum in these 4 districts.

From there the Northern frontier traverses the two large governments of Kursk and Voronesh. In the government of **Kursk** three districts with a majority of Ukrainians belong to the Ukrainian national territory: Putyvl 52·5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, Hrayvoron 52·8<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, Novo-Oskol 51<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. Besides, the Southern part of the district of Sudza (70<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Ukrainians) and parts of the districts of Rylsk (33<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Ukrainians), Korotcha (35<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Ukrainians) and Bielograd (24<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Ukrainians) come into question.

In the government of Kursk the frontier-line running in an Eastern direction reaches the river Oskol and enters the territory of the government of **Voronesh**. Here, too, the frontier-line continues towards East as far as the point, where it reaches the Don for the first time. For a short distance the Don forms the frontier of the Ukrainian territory towards South-East.

The frontier-line leaves the stream at the mouth of the Ikorets, sweeps towards North-East and finally reaches the river Khoper on the territory of the Don Cossacks. Novokhopersk is the farthest point of the Northern frontier of Ukraina and the starting-point of the Eastern frontier of the Ukrainian territory. In the government of Voronesh 4 districts have a large Ukrainian majority; of the district of Pavlovsk the Southern part belongs to the coherent Ukrainian territory. According to the census of 1897 the whole Ukrainian territory of this government is inhabited by a population of 76·2% Ukrainians and only 22·6% Russians.

*E. The Eastern frontier* of the Ukrainian national territory in the former Russian Empire starts from Novokhopersk (in the government of Voronesh) and runs in a Southern direction as far as Novotcherkask (in the government of the Don Cossacks). It follows the river Khoper from the start, reaches the Don for the second time at the mouth of the Khoper, passes over to the right bank of the Don, to cross the Don for the third time at Novotcherkask. An absolute majority of Ukrainians in the government of the Don Cossacks is to be found in the rural part of two districts: Rostov (52%) and Taganrog (69%). If the population of the two district capitals, according to the official returns, is included, there is still a large relative majority of Ukrainians in these districts (48·4% Ukrainians against 42·3% Russians). Besides, the Western part of the Donetsk district (40% Ukrainians) comes into question.

By the districts of Rostov and Taganrog the Ukrainian national territory is connected with **Cau-**

**casia.** Here the Ukrainian element is increasing from year to year and thus the Ukrainian territory on one place extends as far as the Caspian Sea. According to the census of 1879 already the Ukrainian settlements stretched in a large circle South and East of Rostov and at present they comprise wellnigh the whole of North Caucasia with the exception of small strips along the Caspian Sea. To this territory belongs the **province of Kuban** (with 36·2% Ukrainians against 30·5% Russians) and the government of **Stavropol** (with 50·8% Ukrainians against 45·7% Russians). But the returns of the census of 1897 are not quite reliable and it can be stated with certainty that at present the percentage of the permanent Ukrainian population is by far greater than according to the above-mentioned census.

In North Caucasia ends the Eastern frontier of the Ukrainian territory.

*F. The Southern frontier* of the Ukrainian national territory begins near the Eastern coast of the Caspian Sea and at first the river Terek forms the frontier-line. It continues towards West through the Terek and Kuban provinces and the government of Black Sea, to reach the coast of the Black Sea between Tuapse and Sotchi. From there the frontier-line of Ukraina as far as the delta of the Danube is marked by the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

Towards West the most important Southern border-territory of Ukraina is the government of **Taurida** with the **Crimean** peninsula. Here the Ukrainians, according to the census of 1897, form

only a relative majority (42<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), beside 28<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Russians, 13<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Tartars, over 5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Germans, nearly 5<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Jews, 3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Bulgarians, 1<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> Armenians. An absolute majority of Ukrainians is to be found in three districts: Dniprovsk (73·6<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), Berdyansk (58·8<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), Melitopol (54·9<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>) – besides considerable minorities in two districts: Eupatoria (26<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>) and Perekop (23<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), where the Ukrainians inhabit the northern parts of the districts. So the whole continental part of the government of Taurida and the northern part of the Crimea belong unquestionably to the coherent Ukrainian national territory. If the Crimea is taken as a whole, no nation has an absolute majority. Only a relative majority is formed by the Tartars together with other Mohammedans. Among the Russians all visitors of the watering places of the Crimea are included: so from their number the true percentage of the permanent Russian population cannot be inferred. Next in number to the Russians are the Ukrainians, and besides a considerable percentage of foreign colonists. In the same measure, however, as the Tartars are leaving the country to settle in Turkey, the territory and the number of the Ukrainians is more and more increasing in the Southern part of the Crimea, too, so that the time is not far when the Ukrainian element will be able to consider the whole Crimea as their national territory. Those Mohammedans however, who wish to remain in the Crimea, cannot easily form a political organism of their own of the Southern part of the peninsula, and owing to a thousand years of their political relations with Ukraine they are likely to be willing at any moment to join the Ukrainian Republic. So the whole government of Taurida and

with it the whole Crimean peninsula will have to be included in the Ukrainian national territory.

West of the government of Taurida the government of **Yekaterinoslav** is situated. Here the Ukrainians form 69% of the entire population, beside 17% Russians, 5% Jews, 4% Germans, 2% Greeks, 1% White Russians, 1% Poles, 1% Tartars. In the single districts the percentage of Ukrainians varies between 94% and 83% in the country. In the large towns naturally a considerable percentage of foreign nations is returned; thus the district of Yekaterinoslav, excepting the capital, has 74% Ukrainians, while if the capital is included, only 56% Ukrainians are living there beside 21% Russians, 13% Jews, 6% Germans, and 2% Poles.

A similar proportion of nationalities can be observed in the government of **Kherson**, where the large towns, such as Odessa and Nikolayev, considerably depress the percentage of the permanent Ukrainian population. It is due to this fact that the census of 1897 returns hardly 54% Ukrainians in the government of Kherson. Yet in most districts of this government the Ukrainians form an overwhelming majority, between 63% and 88% in the country, in the other districts they have a relative majority, such as in the rural part of the district of Odessa 47% (including the town population only 33%). The entire population of the government of Kherson consists of 54% Ukrainians, 21% Russians, besides 11% Jews, over 1% Poles, over 4% Germans, over 5% Rumanians, and more than 1% Bulgarians and Greeks. The population of the city of Odessa is composed of many nationalities. Predominant among them are

the Russians and the Jews, while the Ukrainians form only the eleventh part of the population; besides there are Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians and others. In Nikolayev the Ukrainians form only one thirteenth, in Kherson one fifth, and in Elizabetgrad one fourth of the population. Only in 8 smaller towns the Ukrainians have a majority over the Russians. These figures are based on the official statistical returns, which especially in the larger towns considerably reduce the number of the Ukrainians in favour of the Russians. Nevertheless the whole government of Yekaterinoslav as well as the government of Kherson belong to the coherent Ukrainian national territory.

G. In **Bessarabia** the Ukrainian territory is bounded by the Rumanian territory. Here the frontier-line is very irregular and runs towards North West as far as the frontier of the Austrian Empire. Many Rumanian enclaves are situated on the coherent Ukrainian territory, while on the other hand many Ukrainian enclaves (over 145.000 Ukrainians) are to be found on the Rumanian national territory.

For the coherent Ukrainian territory only two districts of Bessarabia come into question: the district of Akkerman with a **relative** Ukrainian majority (about 27% Ukrainians, 10% Russians, 5% Jews, 16% Germans, over 16% Rumanians, 21% Bulgarians, 4% Turks), and the district of Khotin with an **absolute** Ukrainian majority (over 53% Ukrainians, over 6% Russians, about 16% Jews, about 24% Rumanians). The frontier-line runs over Ismail, over the mouth of the Dniester, then up the Dniester as far as Dubossary, to reach the watershed between the Pruth

and the Dniester and to leave Bessarabia at Novosielitze.

This is the Ukrainian national territory within the former Russian Empire. Only those governments, which are situated along the frontier-line, were made the subject of our discussion (sections *B—G*). But other governments, too, which are situated in the heart of this territory, come into question. Besides Volhynia, which was spoken of already, there are the governments of **Podolia** (adjoining the Galician part of Podolia), **Kieff**, **Poltava**, and **Kharkov**. All these governments have an absolute Ukrainian majority and belong as a whole to the coherent territory of the Ukrainian people. In Podolia, according to the census of 1897 the population consisted of 81% Ukrainians, besides 3% Russians, over 2% Poles, and over 12% Jews. In the government of Kieff the official returns show 79·2% Ukrainians, 5·9% Russians, 1·9% Poles, and 12·1% Jews. In the city of Kieff the Ukrainians form more than one fifth of the population. The government of Poltava has the largest absolute majority of Ukrainians: 95%, besides 4% Jews and 1% Russians. In the government of Kharkov the Ukrainians come up to nearly 81% of the entire population, the Russian percentage being about 18%. With the only exception of the capital of Kharkov, where the Ukrainians come up to one fourth of the population, the Ukrainians have a considerable majority over the Russians in all other towns of the district.

*H* In **Bukovina** the coherent territory of the Ukrainian people comprises 4 districts: **Kotzman**, **Zastawna**, **Washkoutz**, **Wiznitz**, and parts of

6 districts, viz of **Czernowitz, Kimpolung, Radautz, Sereth, Suczawa, and Storozynetz**. The frontier-line, which as an immediate continuation of the Bessarabian frontier-line separates the Ukrainian from the Rumanian national territory, runs over Novosielitze to the West as far as the immediate neighbourhood of Czernowitz, turns towards South East to the frontier between Austria and Rumania, and reaches the city of Sereth and the river Suczawa. From here the frontier-line sweeps round to the North as far as the watershed between the Pruth and the Sereth basins, but soon turns to the South and South West again over Storozynetz and Kirlibaba, where it reaches the frontier of Hungary.

According to the Austrian census of 1900 the population on the coherent Ukrainian territory consisted of 69% Ukrainians, 0·8% Russians, 4·1% Poles, 15·6% Jews, 5% Germans, 4·8% Rumanians, and 0·4% Magyars.

1. The end of the Southern frontier of the Ukrainian national territory is situated in **Hungary**. The frontier-line runs from the Galician frontier near Kirlibaba to the West as far as the point where the river Ruskova falls into the Vishova (Viso). Then it turns to the North West as far as Shiget. Here it sweeps round towards North and again towards West, follows the river Theiss as far as the town of Vyshkov (Visk), and reaches the towns of Ternanka Bartatsha. This is the end of the frontier between the Ukrainians and the Rumanians, and here begins the **frontier between Ukrainians and the Magyars**.



It runs to the West in many sinuosities over Ardiv (Feketeardo) to Kerestur (Tiszakeresztur), and from there to Munkács, continuing towards South West as far as the town of Sniatyno (Izsmyle). From there it turns to the West again as far as the point where the river Stare falls into the Latorcza, and sweeps to the North as far as Ungvar.

Here begins the **Ukrainian-Slovak frontier**, which is very irregular. From Ungvar it turns to the North and approaches the Carpathians, which form the frontier between Hungary and Galicia. Near Lublau the frontier crosses the river Poprad and reaches the Ukrainian territories of Galicia mostly advanced to the West, which are inhabited by the Lemkes. This is the end of the Southern frontier of the entire territory of the Ukrainian people, which extends on the whole from the Caucasus to the Beskid mountains in West Galicia.

The larger part of the Ukrainian territory in Hungary is situated in the Carpathian mountains and adjoins the Ukrainian territory of Galicia with its population of Ukrainian mountaineers, who form the majority of the inhabitants of the Carpathians. It comprises the three Northern quarters of the county of Marmaros, the North Eastern part of the county of Ugoesa, two thirds of the county of Bereg, the Northern half of the county of Ung, the Northern border districts of the counties of Zemplen and Saros, and the North Eastern districts of the county of Zips.

The Hungarian official statistical returns, which are no more trustworthy than those of Galicia, show 470.000 Ukrainians in 1910, and this figure may boldly be raised to 500.000 at least, to get an approximate

notion of the number of the Ukrainian population of Hungary.

The above description restricted itself only to the coherent territory of the Ukrainian people. But the Ukrainians are also settled outside their national territory, in numerous enclaves, which are scattered over large parts of the globe. The largest Ukrainian colonization is to be found in the East, i. e. in the Don territory as far as the Volga, and in the whole of Siberia. These territories, according to the Russian census of 1897, are inhabited by about 1,100,000 Ukrainians. More than half a million Ukrainians are scattered in small groups all over the United States of America. Most of them are miners and factory-workers, chiefly in Pennsylvania. In Canada the Ukrainians have founded many agricultural colonies. The number of the Ukrainians of Canada exceeds 200,000. In Brazil, too, many Ukrainian agricultural colonies are to be found. Their population exceeds 60,000 and forms an important element of civilization among the Lusobrazili. The Ukrainian population of the globe can be estimated at 40 millions.

## V. The Ukrainian National Wealth.

It results already from our preceding descriptions, that the Ukrainian people has all the characteristic properties of a nation, and that the coherent Ukrainian territory is fit for the foundation of a large political organism.

But as the Republic of the Ukrainian People claims to be recognized by all states at the conclusion of peace, it shall be finally proved, that the recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian state is to the interest of Europe as well as of America. All states, and especially the Allied Powers, have an eminent interest that the Ukrainian national wealth should form an object of international traffic and not, as in the past, be withdrawn from international traffic by the Russian Empire.

Ukraina is a country abounding in natural produce, but was not rightly valued in the past, from a political as well as from an economical point of view. Not only politically but also economically Ukraina forms the connecting link between the East and the West, and only if she is independent from Russia, she can open her riches to the whole civilized world, all the more since only then she can carry into effect her intention of concluding commercial treaties on the broadest basis with all other states.

The Ukrainian national wealth is large. The country is one of the most fertile of Europe and has an abundance of minerals of all kinds.

**Agriculture** is the chief occupation of the Ukrainian population, to which nearly nine tenths of the Ukrainian people apply themselves. Three quarters of the soil consist of humus, and also the rest of the soil is of a rather good quality.

Next to Russia, Ukraina has the largest arable territory in Europe: it comes up to 45 million hectares. The arable soil of Ukraina forms 53<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the entire surface of the country.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the total annual agricultural produce amounted on the average to 150 million metrical quintals, counting only the wheat-, rye-, and barley-crops. In this respect Ukraina exceeds all countries of Europe.

There is no doubt that this production can be considerably increased, if Ukraina will appear as an independent party in international trade. Modern tilling implements and machines will at once be generally used, if the other countries will offer the products of their factories for sale in Ukraina. At present already farmers are paying incredible prices for agricultural implements of all kinds.

**Forest-culture** is not very highly developed in Ukraina.

The woodlands of Ukraina come up to about 13<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the entire surface of the country. The principal cause of this small percentage is that Ukraina comprises large parts of the steppes of Eastern Europe. It may also be found in the careless working of the woods by the Poles and Russians. Thus for

example the wooded area of Galicia was reduced by 2000 square kilometres, i. e. 3% of the entire superficies of the country, in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, owing to the famous Polish misadministration.

The mountainous regions have the highest, the steppes the lowest, percentage of forests. The Ukrainian territory of North East Hungary has about 40% forest area, in the county of Marmaros Sziget forests form even about 62% of the superficies, on the other hand Kursk has 7.1%, Poltava 4.7%, Kherson only 1.4%.

In forest-culture and the industrial exploitation of forest products only a small part of the Ukrainian people are occupied, all the more since almost all forests of Ukraina belong to large lands-owners, to domains of the state, and to church-land. But by international traffic and by a reform of land laws a reasonable forest-culture will be developed and will open large treasures to civilization.

Still less developed is the **cultivation of vegetables**, but it will be developed, as soon as, with the aid of foreign industrial circles, trade and commerce will grow in the towns of Ukraina.

**Fruit-culture**, however, is on a fairly high level in Ukraina, but it is sure to improve by the development of international traffic. The largest area is occupied by orchards in Bessarabia (40.000 hectares). In Podolia only the peasant's orchards cover more than 26.000 hectares. The annual production in Podolia and Bessarabia amounts to about 900.000 *q* fruit, 20.000 *q* nuts and almonds. The highest annual production is attained in the Yaila Mountains in the government of Taurida: it exceeds 160.000 *q* fruit and

40.000 *q* nuts. Here the most delicate sorts of apples, pears, plums, apricots and peaches are grown.

In closest connexion with fruit culture **bee-rearing** is carried on in Ukraina. The whole produce of honey in Russian Ukraina amounted to 125.000 *q* in 1910, of wax it was 13.700 *q* (i. e. 38<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> and 34<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> respectively of the total produce of the whole Russian Empire.) In Galicia the country in 1900 produced one half of the honey and one eighth of the wax of the total Austrian produce, i. e. 25.000 *q* honey and 350 *q* wax.

The **stock of cattle** is very considerable in Ukraina. On an approximate calculation it may be estimated to 30 millions at least, 4 millions of which fall to the share of Austrian Ukraina. The comparatively smallest live stock is to be found in Galicia, where 723 heads of cattle fall to 1000 inhabitants, viz. 116 horses, 372 horned cattle, 60 sheep, 172 pigs. The figure is larger in Russian Ukraina, where for instance in the government of Taurida 300 horses, 280 horned cattle, 620 sheep, 110 pigs, and in the province of Kuban 340 horses, 540 horned cattle, 800 sheep and 210 pigs fall to 1000 inhabitants. Still about the middle of the nineteenth century Southern Ukraina was one of the most important wool-producing territories on the world's market. Only since the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the keen competition of Australian wool-produce has been making itself felt, especially from the moment when in Ukraina part of the steppes was brought under cultivation. Nevertheless the stock of sheep in Ukraina must be calculated to 10 millions at least. On the whole, sheep-breeding meets the latest requirements.

One of the most important means of living of the Ukrainian peasantry is **poultry-farming**. The surplus of the production over the local consumption is so large, that the whole Ukrainian territory has for many years past become an important country of exportation of poultry, eggs and feathers to Russia, Austria, Germany, and England. From the nine Ukrainian governments over 600.000 *q* of eggs were exported in 1905, more than 90% of which went over the frontier. It may be said that the whole Ukrainian territory alone furnishes more than one half of the produce of the whole Russia.

Very large is the Ukrainian abundance of **minerals**. **Gold**, it is true, does not abound, but **silver** is often found, especially in the Kuban and Terek territories, where in 1910 about 300.000 *q* of lead and silver ore (i. e. 73% of the total Russian output) were raised. **Mercury** is profusely found in the elevated plains of the Donetz, where in 1905 . . . 320.000 kilogrammes of mercury were extracted from cinnabar ore. There are no mercury-mines in other parts of the former Russian Empire. Very large is the output of **manganese** in Ukraina: in 1907 it amounted to about 3,245.000 *q*, i. e. 32% of the total Russian and one sixth of the world's output. Greater still is the Ukrainian abundance of **iron-ore**, though many shoots are not yet explored and not yet worked. In 1907 the output of iron-ore in Ukraina amounted to 39,900.000 *q*, i. e. 73% of the total Russian output. Comparatively small is the output of **copper**, most of which is produced in the Caucasus, where in 1910 the whole output of copper came up to 31% of the total output of Russia.

Restricting ourselves to the most important minerals, we have still to refer to the large quantities of coal, petroleum, ozocerite, and salt, which are found in Ukraina.

In the elevated plains of the Donetz Ukraina possesses one of the largest coal-fields of Europe. Its area amounts to 23,000 square kilometres and the annual extraction in 1911 came up to 203 million metrical quintals, i. e. 70% of the total Russian output of coal. Here in 1911 also 31 million metrical quintals of anthracite and nearly 34 million metrical quintals of coke were produced.

From the above figures we can understand, that although Ukraina takes only the seventh place in the coal output of the globe, still in her coal she possesses an important and indispensable resource for her industry.

As to **petroleum** and **ozocerite**, Ukraina takes the first place in Europe. In the Carpathian Mountains there are large oil-fields, many of which have not yet been opened. In 1911 Galicia produced about 15 million quintals of petroleum: besides, there are large oil-fields in the Ukrainian forelands of the Caucasus. Ozocerite is not produced anywhere in the whole world except in East Galicia.

Finally the Ukrainian **salt-mines** are very important. In the Ukrainian part of East Galicia 540,000 *q* of salt were produced in 1908. In the Donetz territory 5,000,000 quintals of rock salt were raised in 1911, and in the Pontocaspian territory the annual output varies between  $3\frac{1}{3}$  and  $5\frac{3}{4}$  million metrical quintals.

If after the above description the Ukrainian territory is compared with other European states, we can



not help counting Ukraina among the countries profusely abounding in natural riches. But since Ukraina was no independent political organism till the present, and could not be governed and administrated after her own laws, official statistics concerning the financial and economical ability of the Ukrainian people are still wanting. Nevertheless it can be asserted with certainty, that the Ukrainian people at present already has all the properties necessary for a modern political organism. The Ukrainian peasant is very modest in his wants, has always done his public duties, and is one of the most punctual rate-payers. During the war he has cleared off all hypothecary debts and thus unburdened his estate. The world juncture has made him a rich citizen, who has also the economical possibility of acquiring the estates of the large land-owners by way of full compensation. An agrarian reform of this kind is necessary in Ukraina, as was mentioned above, and will raise the capacity of the Ukrainian peasant for paying taxes to the highest degree. The proceeds from the agrarian reform in view in favour of the state as well as the effective wealth of the Ukrainian peasant will suffice fully to meet all financial liabilities of the Ukrainian state. So the Allied Powers can find no better debtor than the Ukrainian peasant, and with him the whole Ukrainian state. The effective wealth of the Ukrainian people remains indestructible, and neither trade nor commerce were so highly developed, owing to the Russian administration of the past, that by the war they could have suffered any great losses. On the contrary, free and independent Ukraina will after the war open her door to international traffic, as soon as by the World

Congress she is admitted into the community of free peoples.

History proves that at the time of her political independence Ukraina had a flourishing industry and a wide-spread commerce (see chapter II.). Neither the Polish nor the Russian governments took care to encourage the development of trade and commerce: so in this respect, too, the Ukrainian people depended on its own strength. It created a remarkable home-industry, which quite recently had gradually to give way to manufacture in Ukraina as well as in the whole Europe. On the other hand imposing syndicates, consisting only of Ukrainian partners, were formed in Ukraina, who could bear comparison with the great trading companies of Western Europe as to the strength of their organizations and to the capitals, which they put into circulation.

Certainly much remains to be done on the domain of industry and commerce, but the Republic of the Ukrainian People hopes, that the Allied Powers will render her their assistance, all the more since it is to their interest, to bring the products of their industry to Ukraina and thus infinitely to expand their outlet for export-goods.

The Republic of the Ukrainian People does not want to seclude herself from the civilized world, as the former Russian Empire did, but must obtain her political independence, to pull down the barriers, which enclosed her in the past. The re-establishment of Russia in her former frontiers would be at the same time the re-establishment of Russian policy, under a new name. The psychology of the Russian people is inconsistent with the psychology of all other

European peoples, and whether Bolshevism will remain at the head of affairs in Russia, or will be succeeded by another government, still two entirely different views of life cannot be reconciled for any length of time. After the re-establishment of the former Russian Empire the Ukrainian people would not be able any longer to form the connecting link between the East and the West, and the barrier would have to be erected as before. Only a free and independent Ukraina can invite the civilized world to partake in the enjoyment of the Ukrainian natural wealth.

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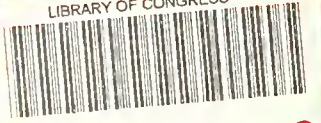








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